QUINCY Debate
Oct. 13, 1858

DRAWER 5 DEBATES

The Lincoln-Douglas Debates

1858

Quincy, Illinois

Oct. 13, 1858

Excerpts from newspapers and other sources

From the files of the

Lincoln Financial Foundation Collection

LINCOLN LORE

Bulletin of the Lincoln National Life Foundation - - - - - - Dr. Louis A. Warren, Editor.
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No. 235 FORT WAYNE, INDIANA October 9, 1933

SEVENTY-FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE LINCOLN-DOUGLAS DEBATES

QUINCY, OCTOBER 13, 1858

The site of the sixth joint debate, located upon the Mississippi River, drew delegations from both Iowa and Missouri. The attendance was estimated at between ten and fifteen thousand.

Mr. Lincoln was entertained at the home of his friend, Hon. O. H. Browning, while Judge Douglas made his headquarters at the Quincy House.

A platform was constructed for the speakers in front of the court house and seating accommodations were provided for about eight hundred ladies. Just before the debate started some of these seats fell and a few people were injured, but none seriously.

Speech of Lincoln

Introduction

Republican platforms adopted against which no word of condemnation has been brought (Paragraph 1-3).

Judge Douglas has discussed certain foreign resolutions made at Springfield in preference to authorized platform of party (4, 5).

Although in no way accountable for the Springfield resolutions, Judge Douglas continues to hold me responsible for them (6, 7).

A. The Sectional Party.

Not guilty of double dealing with the public by making statements in one part of the state that he (Lincoln) would not make in another part (8).

His remarks about racial equality at Charleston and Douglas's reply reviewed (9-11).

Conclusions at Ottawa reviewed with argument that they were not in contradiction to his remarks at Charleston (12-14).

B. The Dred Scott Decision.

Judge Douglas asked for third time to answer the third question put to him at Freeport (15).

The Court nowhere in its opinions said that the states have the power to exclude slavery (16-17).

C. Personal References.

Engaged in personal controversy as to which one of them started using the word "forgery" referring to the Republican Resolutions (18, 19).

Recalled accusation of Douglas that there was a bargain between Lincoln and Trumbull (20).

Would not push this matter to the point of personal difficulty (21-24).

D. The Moral Issue in Slavery.

Contest between those who think slavery wrong and those who do not think slavery wrong (25).

We have due regard to its presence, the difficulty of getting rid of it, and the constitutional obligations thrown about it (26).

Not to be bound by the Dred Scott Decision as a political rule (27).

Republican and Democratic policies with respect to the right and wrong of slavery compared (28).

Douglas has never admitted slavery is wrong (29).

Democrats object to opposing slavery where it is and where it isn't (30, 31).

The real difference between Democrats and Republicans on the slavery question is the opinion of whether it is right or wrong (32-34).

Speech of Douglas

A. Personal References.

It is to be regretted that Mr. Lincoln should have deemed it proper to again indulge in the gross personalities with reference to the Republican Resolutions (Paragraph 1, 2).

He (Douglas) made a mistake with respect to the place Resolutions were made but immediately corrected error on own initiative (3, 4).

Attacked Lincoln's integrity in both the alleged conspiracy compact and Dred Scott Decision (4, 5).

B. Popular Sovereignty.

Lincoln asked again whether or not he endorses the principle of no more slave states whether or not the people want them (6).

Lincoln asked if he will vote for the admission of any territory with just such a constitution as the peopeople want (7).

Lincoln's answers heretofore have been evasive and equivocal (8).

C. The Sectional Party.

Lincoln will not express same opinions at Chicago that he will at Charleston (9-12).

Negroes and Whites are made equal at Chicago but at Charleston he makes the Whites superior (13, 14).

The party to which he belongs is bounded and limited by geographical lines (15).

The party appeals to the North against the South and Lincoln preaches a crusade against slavery in the Free States (16).

D. The House Divided Question.

How does Lincoln hope to save the Union unless by compelling all states to become free (17, 18)?

Under the Constitution each state has a right to do as it pleases upon the subject of slavery (19).

E. The Dread Scott Decision.

Lincoln wishes to discuss merits of Dred Scott Decision when under the Constitution a Senator has no right to interfere with the decision of judging tribunals (20, 21).

After a decision of the Supreme Court is announced it is not for me to enquire whether I like it or not (22).

The Supreme Court would not degrade itself so low as to make a decision known to be in direct violation to the Constitution (23, 24).

Taney's decision that slave property stands on same footing with other property and local laws must either reject this property or protect it (25-27).

Would not vote in Congress for any code of laws either for or against slavery in the territories (28).

F. The Washington Union Controversy.

The Washington Union reads me (Douglas) out of the Democratic party because I hold that the people of a territory have the right to have slavery or not as they please (29, 30).

Attitude towards Clay Compromise Measures and Kansas and Nebraska Bill reviewed by Union and discussion by Douglas (31-36).

The position of President Buchanan on territorial domestic questions discussed (37-40).

G. Constitutional Rights of the Territories and States.

The principle of self government on which our institutions are based is the right of each state, each territory to decide the slavery question for itself (41-42).

It does not become Mr. Lincoln or any one else to meddle with the moral problems of other states (43).

People thanked for their kind attention during address (44-45).

Mr. Lincoln's Rejoinder

Douglas thanked for his public annunciation that his policy with respect to slavery "contemplates that it shall last forever" (Paragraphs 1, 2).

When Douglas stated the fathers made this Government part slave and part free he assumed what is historically a falsehood (3).

We should put slavery on the same basis that our fathers put it and not "put it on the cotton-gin basis" (4).

No inclination to interfere with slave states about their institutions or the controversy within the Democratic party (5, 6).

Judge Douglas himself helped to reverse decision of Supreme Court and also helped to overthrow decision of Illinois Supreme Court (7, 8).

Does Judge Douglas claim by withholding laws or passing unfriendly laws territorial legislatures may nullify constitutional rights (9-11)?

Personal controversies referring to sectional speeches, Republican Resolutions, and Dred Scott case reviewed (12-20).

BARGAINS IN FARMS TELEPHONE 3684-W

LOREN C. COX
Real Estate, Insurance and Loans
461 WELLS BUILDING
QUINCY - ILLINOIS

Sept. 19-36.

Dr. Louis A. Warren.
Fort Wayne, Ind--

Dear Sir= I am chairman of the Lincoln-Douglas Debate Memorial association which has charge of the erection of a large bronze plaque in this city Oct. 13th, Lorado Taft being the sculptor of same. The State of Illinois appropriated $10,000 for this monument and it is now finished and ready for delivery.

The big tablet will have a granite base and frame around it and will be about eleven feet high. Gov. Horner is to be one of the speakers in the afternoon but we want some one to precede him as he will not arrive until 4 p.m., coming here from Carthage where he has another engagement.

As I have been receiving Lincoln Lore for several months the thought comes to me that we might have you present for the principal speaker in the afternoon — before the Governor arrives. I note that you have been making addresses in various parts of the country upon the life of Lincoln and I am sure you would fit into this occasion. Hon. David Hogg, of your city, can tell you something about what we expect to do here, and I am indebted to Mr. Hogg for having my name placed upon your mailing list for Lincoln Lore. I have kept all the copies sent to me and find them very interesting.

BARGAINS IN FARMS

TELEPHONE 3684-W

LOREN C. COX

Real Estate, Insurance and Loans

461 WELLS BUILDING

QUINCY - ILLINOIS

However, before making any final arrangements with you we would have to know what your charges will be, as the money has to be raised by contribution of the citizens.

In the evening the Quincy Historical Society will sponsor a dinner and meeting at Hotel Lincoln-Douglas and many prominent people will be present. Lorado Taft will be present and the chief speaker will be from Chicago.

The schools will be dismissed for the afternoon, the High School Band will play, and we hope the city will be full of visitors as invitations will be sent to many people.

Please wire <u>collect</u> whether you can be with us and upon what condition.

Very truly - Loren C. Cox.

P. S. Am writing this at home instead of at the office therefore please excuse "long hand".

September 21, 1936

Mr. Loren C. Cox
461 Wells Building
Quincy, Illinois

Dear Sir:

This letter is to confirm my telegram of this morning with reference to my availability for an address at Quincy, Illinois, on the occasion of the celebration arranged there for October 13.

The Foundation offers my services gratis to groups sponsoring programs such as this, the only obligation resting upon the entertaining group is the carrying for expenses incurred by the engagement, which in this instance would amount to something like $30.00.

Last year I addressed the Lincoln-Douglas Society at Freeport at their annual meeting and the enclosed leaflet will give you some idea of my speaking itinerary.

Ofcourse, if I am invited to speak at Quincy I shall prepare a special address for the occasion based on Lincoln's early training for the debates revealed by his speech at Quincy.

Kindly advise me your decision with reference to my coming at your convenience.

Very truly yours

LAW:LH

Director

Celebration of the Seventy-eighth Anniversary of the Lincoln-Douglas Debate in Quincy, October 13, 1858

Lincoln-Douglas Debate
Memorial Association
Quincy, Illinois

September 23, 1936.

Dr. Louis A. Warren,
Fort Wayne, Ind.,

Dear Sir:

I am in receipt of your letter and received your wire yesterday. We want you to come to Quincy and speak in the afternoon of October 13, prior to the address of Governor Horner. The Governor is coming over in these parts to stir up his political friends at a night meeting and will not reach Quincy until 4 o'clock. I am not interested in his political aspirations but others are.

There will be no one speak in the aftrnoon except you and the Governor, but there may be a few short talks bringing in some of our local people. As chairman of the committee I may say a few words.

I notice that you have a collection of Lincoln manuscripts, portraits, curios and souvenirs and I am wondering whether it would be possible for you to bring several of these along with you just for the day's exhibition. We can insure them against loss and will have police protection if necessary as I know such things are priceless. This is an extraordinary event and it would be fine to have some of these articles. In the evening there is to be a banquet at the Lincoln-Douglas Hotel. I will send you additional information later.

Very truly,

Loren B. Cox.
Chairman.

September 25, 1936

Mr. Loren C. Cox, Chairman
Lincoln-Douglas Debate Memorial Association
Quincy, Illinois

My dear Mr. Cox:

It will be a pleasure for me to be with your group on October 13 as suggested in your letter of September 23.

It appears now as if train connections will bring me into Quincy early in the morning on October 13 and I understand it will be necessary for me to leave there at 9 P.M. that evening in order to be in Chicago the next morning early enough to make Fort Wayne connections.

We have a very extensive collection of Lincolniana here and I will try and select some items which I think might be of interest for display.

You will please find enclosed some suggestions which are submitted for your approval and we will await your pleasure with reference to them before arranging for their display.

Very truly yours

LAW:LH
Enc.

Director

Lincoln-Douglas Debate
Memorial Association
Quincy, Illinois

September 30, 1936.

Dr. Charles S. Warren,
Fort Wayne, Indiana,

Dear Sir:

As the arrangements now stand we expect you to be on hand on the afternoon of October 13 and be the first speaker at the unveiling ceremony.

It is planned to have all the older students of the schools on hand and the High School band will lead a parade. Before introducing you there will be some preliminary introductions of old timers, etc.

Governor Horner will follow you with an address but will not reach Quincy until 4 o'clock.

In the evening there will be a banquet at Hotel Lincoln-Douglas, at which the speakers and prominent persons from out of the city will be our guests.

If you have any suggestions to make will you kindly let me hear from you soon. It might be a good idea for you to bring along samples of the Lincoln publications which you have for sale. I think we can manage to display them.

Interest is being aroused throughout the State and I believe we will have a wonderful day if the weather man favors us.

Very truly,

Loren C. Bott

Chairman.

October 2, 1936

Mr. Loren C. Cox, Chairman
Lincoln-Douglas Debate Memorial Association
Quincy, Illinois

My dear Mr. Cox:

It will be a pleasure for me to be with your group on October 13 as suggested in your letter of September 23.

It appears now as if train connections will bring me into Quincy early in the morning on October 13 and I understand it will be necessary for me to leave there at 9 P.M. that evening in order to be in Chicago the next morning early enough to make Fort Wayne connections.

We will have shipped to you, if you wish to have it, a display of old Currier & Ives Lincoln prints which are arranged on three display easels, three panels to each easel. This will make an exhibit approximately 22 ft. long and 6 ft. high. The prints are protected by a heavy isinglass cover. We will pay the carriage charges on forwarding the exhibit, if you will bear the expense of returning it.

We will await your pleasure with reference to this exhibit before arranging for its shipment.

Very truly yours,

Director

LAW/H

Celebration of the Seventy-eighth Anniversary of the Lincoln-Douglas Debate in Quincy, October 13, 1858

Lincoln-Douglas Debate
Memorial Association
Quincy, Illinois

October 2, 1936.

Dr. Louis A. Warren,
Fort Wayne, Ind.,

Dear Doctor:

In looking over the carbon copies of letters sent out I note that you were addressed as Dr. Charles S. Warren. Hope you will excuse the mistake as the lady that has been assisting the committee got a little mixed in the names.

As you have been advised the arrangements for our 78th anniversary are progressing rapidly and all signs point to a very successful dedication. We have assurance that there will be a big crowd present.

You will be the first speaker of the afternoon except for some remarks and introductions of persons who were present at the time of the debate. So far I have two letters from men who were here on the 13th of October, 1858, and we hope to hear from others. We want these few remaining people to be our guests on that day. In Quincy there are but two as far as we are able to learn, but we may find others.

Send me another one of those little pamphlets describing who you are as I have mislaid the one you sent. We will need this in introducing you.

Very truly,

Loren B. Fox

Chairman.

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Celebration of the Seventy-eighth Anniversary of the Lincoln-Douglas Debate in Quincy, October 13, 1858

Lincoln-Douglas Debate
Memorial Association
Quincy, Illinois

October 6, 1936.

Dr. Louis A. Warren,
Fort Wayne, Ind.,

Dear Doctor:

I am in receipt of your letter stating that you will arrive in Quincy on the morning of the 13th and desire to catch a train for Chicago in the evening. There is a train at 9 p. m. which will make it about right for you to finish up on your chicken at the banquet and digest what your brother orators have to say about Lincoln and Douglas.

By all means ship the Currier & Ives Lincoln prints and we will pay carriage on return. Also will pay your R. R. fare and entertain you while here.

As I wrote you a day or two agoyou are to be the first "real" speaker in the afternoon. First there will be some music, introduction of the mayor and about fifteen words from him (which is all he can say), introduction of Mr. Taft, and introduction of a few old men who were present at the time of the debate. We have scared up four and there may be others.

After your speech there will be some community singing lead by a Y.M.C.A. singmaster, then the introduction of the Governor who will arrive at 4 o'clock, finally unveiling the tablet.

If everybody comes who we are ~~inviting~~ we will have to repair to a 40-acre farm in the country. In case you think of anything new drop me a line.

Very truly,

Loren Cox

October 6, 1936

Mr. Loren C. Cox
Lincoln-Douglas Debate Memorial Association
Quincy, Illinois

My dear Mr. Cox:

We are very happy to comply with your request for further copies of the little pamphlet of addresses on Lincoln.

The new edition of these is just off the press so I am forwarding some copies which include the itinerary of my last few years.

We shall be glad to hear from you at your convenience with reference to the display which you suggested and think they would be very timely.

I am also taking the liberty to enclose a brief introductory statement which is often used in my speeches and you may eliminate such parts that do not seem to be appropriate or use one of your own compilings just as you see fit.

Looking forward to being with you, I am

Very truly yours,

Director
Lincoln National Life Foundation

LAW:EB
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FA 6 DPR PAID =QUINCY ILL 8 400 P

LOUIS A WARREN=

LINCONN NATL LIFE FOUNDATION=

:MAY WE HAVE MAT OR CUT OF YOU PLEASE RUSH SPECIAL DELIVERY ALSO TEXT OF ADDRESS=

THE HERALD WHIG .

October 8, 1936

The Herald Whig
Quincy, Illinois

Dear Sirs:

Enclosed please find mat and printed speech from which extracts will be made for address, subject of which is "The Slavery Atmosphere Back of the Quincy Debate."

Very truly yours,

Director

LAW/H

October 9, 1936

Mr. Loren C. Cox
Lincoln-Douglas Memorial Association
Quincy, Illinois

My dear Mr. Cox:

The Lincoln pictures will be shipped out to you today in order that they may be there in ample time for exhibition.

We trust they will meet with your approval and add something to the atmosphere of the celebration.

I will be pleased to get in touch with you upon my arrival in Quincy.

Possibly you should know that I ~~talked~~ sent to "The Herald Whig" last evening at their request a meet and also a address which will ~~bear out~~ the basis of the remarks which I will make at Quincy although I will give some local adaptation and shall not use the manuscript.

Looking forward to seeing you on next Tuesday, the 13th, I am present

Very truly yours,

Director
Lincoln National Life Foundation

LAW:EB

October 16, 1936

Mr. Loren C. Cox
Lincoln-Douglas Memorial Association
Quincy, Illinois

My dear Mr. Cox:

In the rush of things while on my visit to Quincy I did not have occasion to see the Lincoln display which we forwarded although I expect you had it located in some place where a greater number of people might observe it.

Will you please accept my thanks for the kind hospitality shown me and the very excellent audience which was brought together to whom I had the opportunity of telling the Lincoln story.

Would you be willing to gather for me, if possible, some of the newspapers carrying clippings of the occasion as I would like very much to keep them for a scrapbook which we are making here.

Also, if there are programs of the dedication left over, we would like very much to have a number to distribute among Lincoln students and friends who would appreciate them very much. We have on our list here some forty names of men who are intensely interested in acquiring anything in the nature of the programs.

Will you please express my appreciation to the members of your committee for their hospitality and I regret it was necessary for me rush off at the banquet in order to make train connections.

Very truly yours

LAW:AAM

Director

THE QUINCY HERALD-WHIG

1858-1958

QUINCY, ILLINOIS

Centennial

OF THE HISTORICAL

LINCOLN-DOUGLAS DEBATE

OF

OCTOBER 13, 1858

SUNDAY, OCTOBER 12, 1958

Threads in the Fabric of Debate

Who Shall Be Senator, and Is the Negro Slave a Man?

Several threads entwine through mass of political argument and vote-seeking dialectic in which Abraham Lincoln, erstwhile flatboat navigator, storekeeper, wrestler, postmaster, surveyor, Black Hawk war veteran, lawyer and senatorial aspirant, vied with Stephen Arnold Douglas, one-time apprentice cabinet maker, auction clerk, school teacher, lawyer, land office register, state's attorney, secretary of state, supreme court justice, senator and author of the Kansas-Nebraska bill, in the late summer and early fall of fateful 1858.

In town after muddy, boisterous town on the Illinois prairie, along its rivers, and especially in its middle where neither party had firm control, the long and the short of the nation's career politicians, both mighty in battle, both heart-full of a vision of a better America, twisted and turned the threads so the people could catch the same visions and reach for the hope in them.

From Freeport to Jonesboro, from Quincy to Danville, there was no mistaking that fundamental to this campaigning were the Declaration of Independence, the intent of the founding fathers in regard to slavery, the compromise measures of 1850, the Kansas-Nebraska bill of 1854, the decision of the U. S. supreme court in the Dred Scott case, the proper regard for a supreme court decision, state's rights vs. federal control, popular sovereighty and the great expanse of the western territories, and deeply, the status of the Negro in the family of men, and the status of the rest of the family in his regard.

* * *

IN THE FABRIC of stump politicking and back-stage maneuvering were countless other threads, woven in by ambition, greed the will for power, personal antagonism, pride. There was the economic ambition of the South, burning to burst the boundary of 36-30. If Eli Whitney's cotton gin had perpetuated slavery in the hearts of the South's economic lords, the vastness of the new and beckoning West gave glowing promise to that perpetuation.

In the North teeth put into the fugitive slave act in 1850 stirred passions and fanned resentments long lulled into quietude by the naive notion that the hateful, shameful, disgraceful "institution" was slowly but surely on its way out. There were rabid fanatics on both sides and Old Abe and the Little Giant avoided them like the plague.

On the surface was the immediate question of who was to represent the state of Illinois in the U. S. senate when Douglas' term expired the coming January. The stae legislature would decide, but the people elected the legislators. On the surface was the prestige of the Buchanan administration, which had split with Douglas on the Lecompton constitution and now sought to unseat him.

Off in the future was the presidential election of 1860, certain to be decided on the lines being drawn in the frontier-rough campaign in the sucker state.

* * *

ON THE LIPS of millions the issue was Kansas — bleeding, sweating, burting Kansas. How was it to come into the Union, slave or free? How was its constitution to be formed and its slave status decided? Could it be that the compromise by which the slavery problem had been so recently put to rest was unconstitutional? If it was, what was to happen with the West—and the Northwest. Had Uncle Tom's cabin gone national?

The same lips made a household word of the name of a manumitted slave, Dred Scott, whose journeys with his army master in and out of slave territory and free reached the nation's highest tribunal because Dred would be free. And the upshot was that once a slave always a slave, because a slave is a piece of property, no more and no less, like a barrel of corn whisky or a bale of cotton, and not even congress could contravene the owner's right to take his property wherever he pleased. And what congress couldn't do, a territory couldn't do, the court said. And people wondered about the states. Did this in one fell swoop accomplish what all the southern oratory and hard-breathing had failed so long to accomplish? Was slavery now really a national institution?

* * *

WAS THE NEGRO a man? Didn't his manhood have something decisive to say about Kansas and Nebraska, territorial expansion, railroads to the West, economic stability, popular sovereignty, supreme court decisions, and what-have-you?

Didn't this question of manhood put the whole fabric of political intrigue and discussion on a moral basis? Wasn't the Declaration of Independence after all primarily a moral document, replete with moral terms — "created equal," "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness"? There were far more questions than there were answers.

Lincoln saw the day when all men would in fact, as they were in Declaration, be equal; when slavery would belong to the past and a nation would rise to the greatness of those who gave their lives to build, strengthen and save it. Deep in him was the shame of man harnessed, bought and sold, by man.

Douglas saw a broad, ocean-bound nation crisscrossed by roads and railroads, growing rich in resource and opportunity, in which a penniless youth from Vermont could journey fresh-eyed to the West and build with friendliness, cleverness, wit and ambition, a life of power and prestige. No one knew better that it could be done as far west as Illinois. He had done it.

Some of the questions got decided. Politics and legislation got some of them decided. Bitter, grotesque, heart-rending civil war got others temporarily decided. Douglas won the senatorial election while Lincoln beat him at the polls. Buchanan lost face for his administration but Douglas was dumped from the chairmanship of the powerful committee on territories Lincoln's name buzzed over telegraph wires in every state of the Union and the tall sucker nobody was ever to consider for president was considered right into the high office, largely because of those issues and that campaign. It meant death for him, sooner than he wanted or his nation could afford. Kansas came into the Union without slavery. Dred Scott died even before the hullabaloo over what the supreme court said about him had a chance to pick up steam. And before Booth blindly murdered the Great Emancipator, Stephen A. Douglas was in his grave on the shore of Lake Michigan, victim at last of the ailments which had plagued him since his youth.

Who won? Everybody and nobody. What was won? Everything and nothing.

The Editors Were, to Say the Least, Unrestrained

ONE of Lincoln's favorite stories was of the frontier woman who ran to the door of her cabin one morning, hearing a ruckus, to see her husband wrestling a big bear.

"Go it, husband," she excitedly cried; "go it bear."

Partisan she might have been, but she loved a good fight.

The clawing, growling, free-swinging campaign of 1858 carried virtually into the cabin-yards of every housewife in the state, and, in newspapers, had to be reckoned with over the breakfast table, although often days after the event.

Quincy's two newspapers, the Herald and the Whig, were husband and bear to five or six thousand subscribers. Each was stoutly, sometimes bitterly partisan, editorially and financially identifed with party—the Herald edited by Austin Brooks, a Democratic sheet, the Whig, with F. A. Dallam at the editorial helm, Republican.

For weeks and weeks about all either paper contained was classified ads and political editorials. Occasionally the Whig editor apologized, promising to provide other fare as soon as possible.

* * *

LANGUAGE WAS often harsh and, from the standpoint of a later day, too coarse for print. The verbal infighting now and again became vicious, and it was not unknown for editors of rival papers to tangle arm and leg. Douglas was said earlier to have attempted to cane the editor of a Republican paper and to have come out second best. Tempers ran as hot as pens.

Speaking on the occasion of the 100th anniversary of the birth of Douglas, William Taylor Davidson, intimate friend of Douglas, noted sadly that muckrucking journalism was responsible, together with the booming cannon of the Civil war, for making Douglas almost a forgotten man.

"We buried him beside the waters of Lake Michigan," he said, "singing forever a requiem near his grave and then he was forgotten. Forgotten by this generation was his magnanimous devotion to the Union, to his boyhood friend who had defeated him for the presidency, and to the flag. All that this generation knows of Douglas and the Douglas Democracy has been muckrucked out of the old villainous campaigns of 1858 and 1860—villainous beyond words in its slanders and abuse of opposing candidates.

"As a young editor in that period I was in that dirty game. I raked Webster's dictionary for new and vicious epithets to apply to Lincoln. Democrats told a million lies about him and I did my share of it. But on bended knees we have long since taken it all back and begged pardon of Almighty God and the ghost of Abraham Lincoln.

"But you Republicans told a million lies on Douglas and the Douglas Democracy and you never have taken them back! To this day your histories and even your schoolbooks contain those rankest slanders against the dead Douglas. What a shame to the state of Illinois."

* * *

BROOKS MADE no bones about it. In the Herald of Nov. 16, 1858, he printed the name of a rival politician, Jackson Grimshaw, and promised: "We shall pay our respects to this fellow at the proper time. Just wait a day or two, till we sharpen up our editorial butcher knife!"

Brooks wielded a mean butcher knife. One of his favorite words was "Lie!" and in the heat of a campaign the word might appear 50 times in one four-page issue. One editorial was headed: "A very Dirty Lie!"

And on the 18th of September that year, Brooks wrote, and probably believed it: "For the last three months, we doubt whether the Quincy Whig has contained one, solitary, lonesome truth."

Between rival editors the battle was personal indeed. In the Herald Aug. 16, 1858, Brooks wrote: "The editor of the Macomb Enterprise says that Brooks of the Quincy Herald smells of whisky. How could we help smelling of whisky if we came near him? The difference between the editor of the Enterprise and ourself is that we smell of whisky and he stinks of whisky!"

A correspondent in Morris wrote in the Herald Sept. 2, 1858: "I notice a call in the stinkfinger organ at Chicago, of which that dirty vagabond and common drunkard, Charles N. Pine is editor. . ."

"Stinkfinger" was another of Austin Brooks' favorite epithets He explained that he applied the term to Democrats who "claim affinity with the party, but vote for opposition candidates on personal considerations." So he dubbed those who stuck with Buchanan against Douglas, and when a campaign paper called the Democrat was published here, Brooks, after deeming his admonitions for fair play ignored, never referred to the paper except by the title Stinkfinger.

He carried on a feud with the editor of a Peoria paper, and wrote "Raney, the eunuch editor of the Peoria Union says he gets 10 cents apiece for the lies he tells against Douglas." Raney, of course, replied in kind.

The Whig was also a stinkfinger organ, Brooks claimed, and offered the editor a suggestion: "The organ of the stinkfingers in this city can't get over feeling bad about the St. Louis election. We would advise its editor to put a chunk of ice in his hat, borrow a white clean cravat, hold up on rot-gut whisky for a while, keep cool, and he may live through it."

He had an answer for rivals who cried "foul!" "The eunuch editor of the Peoria Union complains that we use the word lie too often. Well, if the scamp will quit lying, we shall not have occasion to use the word so often. If we used the word as often as Raney does the lying. he would have some right to complain!"

* * *

WHIG EDITOR Frank A. Dallam and his supporters were not above the same sort of abusive attack. The Whig printed an article which appeared in the La Grange (Mo.) American in which Brooks was called "the blackguard editor of the Quincy Filthy Herald." Dallam, said the writer, "was bold, fearless and able."

"The Philadelphia Press says the editor of the Washington Union would sell his soul for a mess of pottage," Dallam wrote, "If he did, says Prentice, he would cheat the pottage-vendor outrageously."

The same language was applied indiscriminately to high and low. Reporting a speech by Vice President Breckenridge in which he charged a Republican conspiracy to nationalize slavery, the Whig editor commented: "Mr. Breckenridge may be the vice president of the United States but his position does not prevent him from making a consummate ass of himself."

People were warned not to take too seriously claims to nonabusive coverage of local events. A prospectus for the new Democrat issued in Aug. 1958 stated: "This paper will be devoted to the advocacy of the principles of the Democratic party, as declared by the Cincinnati national platform, and to the election of Democrats to office. It will fearlessly investigate public and political questions, avoiding personal abuse and vulgarity, and by courtesy to all invite free and fair investigation of whatever concerns the public interest. The paper will contain the local and general news of the day, a large amount of useful general reading matter, and commercial intelligence of interest to our businessmen."

Brooks printed the notice, but warned the public: "Four years ago today one cent Morrison issued a prospectus for a paper in this city in which he said he should avoid personal abuse and vulgarity. The pledge was followed up with the most intensely vulgar and abusive paper ever published in this city!"

So Douglas, to Editor Dallam, was not just politically mistaken, he was "a liar, a knave and a blackguard—an unblushing liar, a consummate knave and a low-flung blackguard!"

It was an occupational disease, partly explainable by the fact that almost all newspapers were political organs, financially supported by wealthy partisans.

It was said that the *Chicago Times* was "the mouthpiece of Senator Douglas — a paper that sneezes every time the Little Giant takes snuff."

* * *

GETTING OUT a newspaper was a touch-and-go affair, and more than once editors of both papers pleaded with subscribers to pay their bills, and when debts got the upper hand closed down for a while to regroup the forces.

An 1858 Look At Education

Public education in 1858 was not regarded as an unmixed blessing. There were those who viewed it with an extremely jaundiced eye.

"An Old-fashioned Mother" wrote in the Whig as follows:

"You have a little boy—he may be four years old—you think there is no time to be lost and you send him to school. There he is confined for hours, and compelled to sit upon a hard bench and look upon a book. He hears the voices of children playing without— he half rises from the window—a rap upon the teacher's desk recalls him to his seat upon the bench—a glance shows him the kite sailing in the air, to the delight of its happy little proprietor; the poor child is almost involuntarily upon his feet again; another rap and he again drops into his seat upon the bench. Day after day, week after week, month after month, the little fellow returns to his prison and sits upon his bench.

"At length he becomes pale and languid, loses his appetite, grows restless at night, has a cough and loses his flesh and spirits. Ought he not to be taken from the bench? The consequences of this would be terrible—he would lose his rank in the school! So he continues to sit upon the bench. After a few weeks he is brought home. He had fainted as he sat upon the bench. Matters begin to wear serious aspect. The doctor is called. He pronounces him very ill. A great pity he had been compelled to sit upon the bench. It is all over with the poor child. Ere long he dies. A sad calamity? **But, thank God, there is one consolation—before he died he had learned his A B C's!**

Centennial Edition

Quincy's great moment in history is re-created in these pages of The Herald-Whig.

In this historical section, and in Quincy's Lincoln-Douglas debate centennial observance, greater emphasis is given Stephen A. Douglas for two reasons. Douglas lived in Quincy several years. He was a judge of the circuit court here. He was three times elected to congress from the Quincy district. Quincy was the only one of the seven debate cities in which either contestant for the U. S. senate had lived. Douglas was, far more than Lincoln, a product of western Illinois.

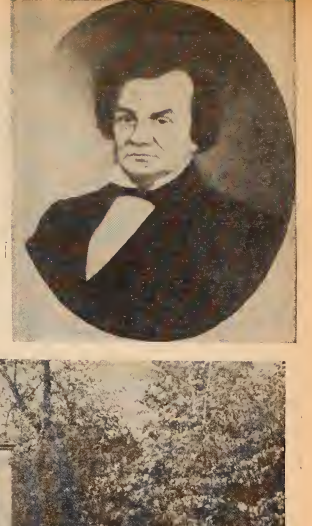
Much more has been written about Lincoln than about Douglas and much more is known about the martyred president. Yet, in the 1850s, Douglas was the most powerful political leader in the nation.

The stories in these pages are the work of George Crist of The Herald-Whig staff, the result of several weeks of research in old newspaper files, old histories and records.

This is Quincy of 100 years ago, and these are the men who made history, much of it on the local scene.

The Men, The Scene

LINCOLN — An engraving from an early photograph, distributed during the campaign of 1860 but replaced by a more mature and dignified portrait that Republican party leaders felt would make more favorable impression on the voters.



DOUGLAS — An oil painting, one of four by a transient artist, Louis O. Lussier, probably "after" a photograph. The possession of Wayne C. Townley, Bloomington attorney.

This Lincoln-Douglas Centennial Edition, and Quincy's centennial observance commemorate the debate of these two men here on Oct. 13, 1858.

DEBATE IN BRONZE —This magnificent plaque, dedicated 22 years ago on the 76th anniversary of the Lincoln-Douglas debate, stands on the east side of Washington park opposite the site of the old court house where Douglas presided as judge. It is the only debate memorial of its kind, and is the work of the famous sculptor, Lorado Taft. It was Taft's final work. He died a few days after the ceremony here. Thousands attended the dedication program Oct. 13, 1936, and heard Gov. Henry Horner of Illinois and Dr. Louis Warren of Indiana, both Lincoln authorities, deliver addresses. The plaque was made possible by a legislative appropriation of $10,000. The two central figures are Douglas and Lincoln. For many years, small boys have kept the toes of Judge Douglas' shoes brightly polished. The plaque annually attracts many students of history from all parts of the nation. Emily Taft Douglas, former Illinois congresswoman and wife of Illinois Sen. Paul H. Douglas, is a daughter of the sculptor.

Issues Nailed Down in Five Earlier Speeches

OLD Abe and the Little Giant shared many a political platform, pitted their notions, their policies and their wits in the no-holds-barred skirmishing of stump politicking, long before they stood together on a platform somewhere near the center of Quincy's Washington park or the first of the seven famous debates was held in Ottawa.

Before Lincoln invited Douglas to joint debate and Douglas accepted, in August, 1858, naming places and procedure, the two had spent four years batting the issues which grew up around, or were inherent in, the Kansas-Nebraska act of 1854.

On the 13th of May, 1854, President Franklin Pierce signed the Kansas-Nebraska act into law. The result was tumultuous and astounding. The bill boomeranged on its sponsors, undoubtedly cost Stephen A. Douglas the presidency and brought Lincoln into national prominence.

Roused from political retirement, Lincoln, strangely mature and intense, took the stump to oppose the new law and urge the re-election of Richard Yates, the Whig member of the house from the Springfield district.

* * *

FOUR YEARS LATER Lincoln was the choice of his party for the United States senate. It was an unprecedented nomination, for the election of U. S. senators was in the hands of the state senate, not the people, and candidates were chosen in the give-and-take of party maneuvering while the senate was in session. Vigorous campaigning on the issues, which were little changed since 1854, made Lincoln the obvious choice.

In a stronger position than he had been four years earlier, thanks to his opposition to the infamous Lecompton constitution, Douglas nevertheless faced an uphill fight. He had alienated many southern leaders, his party was split, and the Republicans were stronger than ever in Illinois.

* * *

THE PLATFORMS on which the two would campaign were nailed down in five major addresses in the state before the formal debates began: Lincoln's "House Divided" speech at Springfield, June 16, 1858; Douglas' speech at Chicago, July 9, Lincoln's reply the night after, and speeches by both men at Springfield July 17.

As these speeches announced the positions to be taken by the antagonists, a bushel of lesser orations in dozens of settlements took the issues to the people—to the great number who neither participated in political events nor read newspaper accounts of them. This was the sole means of communication, and there the story would be told and the issues decided.

They were politicians seeking political ends. For all the occasional grandeur of their language, Lincoln and Douglas were after votes for the men who could, once elected to the Illinois legislature, put one of them into the United States senate. This is not to deny that there were more and better than personal motives for their being there. But it helps to explain a great deal of what was said and the way in which they said it during the campaign.

* * *

BOTH ANTAGONISTS cried "conspiracy" right off the reel. Lincoln claimed Douglas and Buchanan and Pierce and Taney and others aimed at perpetuating and nationalizing slavery, and the Nebraska act and the Dred Scott decision with its suspiciously damning course through the courts were signposts of collusion. Stoutly denying it, Douglas charged Lincoln with conspiring to abolitionize the Democratic and Whig parties, dividing and whipping the Democratic party, browbeating the South.

Douglas said Lincoln was fomenting sectional war for the aggrandizement of his own section. The Douglas banner emblazoned "Popular Sovereignty" from prairie town to prairie town. The way to the future, he said, and the way out of the ruckus of the present, was to let the people of each state and territory decide for themselves not only how they would raise cranberries and pick cotton but what they were going to do with the "inferior." He read this in the Declaration of Independence, found it written in the minds of the framers of the Constitution, and wanted to inscribe it with his own hand on the documents of new states aborning.

Lincoln cried "Foul!" The fathers and their Declaration said nothing of the kind. Their noble work was being undone, even rewritten by latter-day saints who were no saints at all. "Back to the Fathers!" he urged.

Then the people spoke.

1. Lincoln at Springfield

'A House Divided . . . Cannot Stand'

Abraham Lincoln charged Senator Douglas, the U. S. supreme court and President Buchanan with a conspiracy to spread and perpetuate slavery, in a wildly cheered speech before the Illinois state Republican convention in Springfield yesterday.

Earlier in the day the convention endorsed Lincoln as its standard-bearer in the race for the senate seat held by Stephen A. Douglas.

The Sangamon county lawyer claimed the nation is a "house divided," and slavery is the cause of the rift. The rift was on the way to being healed, he said, but the Nebraska bill broke it wide open and left it a raw, gaping wound.

The Dred Scott decision, declaring slaves to be property and denying congressional power to keep such property from being taken into states, actually reversed the Nebraska act with its popular sovereignty, and betrayed a conspiracy to open the wound, ocean to ocean, Lincoln said.

IN fashion similar, a reporter of 1958 might lead off an account of Lincoln's famous Springfield speech of 1858. It was a bold but thoughtful and carefully constructed statement.

Republican leaders were apprehensive. Lincoln had gone too far, they feared, and had opened the way to charges of disunion and abolitionism. The speech might imperil Lincoln's election.

On odd bits of scrap paper and used envelopes Lincoln wrote, as he later wrote the Gettysburg address, this speech, which, more than any other, dominated the campaign. Again and again Douglas hurled its words back at Lincoln, while Lincoln, now defending, now attacking, repeated and emphasized and strengthened the argument of the scraps and envelopes.

* * *

LINCOLN, standing in the sweltering hall of the house of representatives in Springfield, June 16, 1858: "If we could first know where we are, and whither we are tending, we could better judge what to do, and how to do it. We are now far into the fifth year, since a policy was initiated, with the avowed object, and confident promise, of putting an end to slavery agitation. Under the operation of that policy, that agitation has not only not ceased, but has constantly augmented. In my opinion, it will not cease, until a crisis shall have been reached, and passed.

"A house divided against itself cannot stand. I believe this government cannot endure, permanently half slave and half free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved—I do not expect the house to fall—but I do expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing, or all the other. Either the opponents of slavery will arrest the further spread of it, and place it where the public mind shall rest in the belief that it is in course of ultimate extinction; or its advocates will push it forward, till it shall become alike lawful in all states, old as well as new—North as well as South."

The Nebraska bill was the first point gained in the effort to nationalize slavery, he claimed. Backing it was "the notable argument of 'squatter sovereignty,' otherwise called 'sacred right of self-government,' which latter phrase, though expressive of the only rightful basis of any government, was so perverted in this attempted use of it as to amount to just this: That if any one man choose to enslave another, no third man shall be allowed to object."

* * *

IN THE SAME month the second point was gained, he said, with presidential endorsement of the pending Dred Scott decision.

"Under the Dred Scott decision, 'squatter sovereignty' squatted out of existence, tumbled down like temporary scaffolding—like the mold at the foundry served through one blast and fell back into loose sand—helped to carry an election, and then was kicked to the winds."

The several points of the Dred Scott decision, in connection with the "care not" policy of Douglas toward slavery scored point three. The court's decision means that "individual men may fill up the territories with slaves, without danger of losing them as property, and thus to enhance the chances of permanency to the institution through all the future." To be capitalized on later was the implication that "what Dred Scott's master might lawfully do with Dred Scott, in the free state of Illinois, every other master may lawfully do with any other one, or one thousand slaves, in Illinois, or in any other free state."

Along with this is the aim to "educate and mold public opinion, at least northern public opinion, to not care whether slavery is voted down or voted up."

The Nebraska bill provided "an exactly fitted niche" into which the Dred Scott decision was afterwards to be inserted, the decision being withheld until the election was over and "perfect freedom of the people" made the most of.

* * *

LINCOLN charged a conspiracy, showed how the language of the decision left important questions open, and darkly predicted: "We shall lie down pleasantly dreaming that the people of Missouri are on the verge of making their state free; and we shall awake to the reality, instead, that the supreme court has made Illinois a slave state. To meet and overthrow the power of that dynasty, is the work now before all those who would prevent that consummation."

Douglas will not do on the Republican side of this fight. His proponents "remind us that he is a very great man, and that the largest of us are very small ones. Let this be granted. But 'a living dog is better than a dead lion.' Judge Douglas, if not a dead lion for this work, is at least a caged and toothless one."

Douglas doesn't care about the advances of slavery, considers taking slaves into free territory a sacred right, has reduced the slavery question to "a mere right of property," and has given no intimation of changing his mind.

The cause belongs to those who care.

"Wise councils may accelerate or mistakes delay it, but sooner or later the victory is sure to come." And Douglas was to be heard from.

2. Douglas in Chicago

'The Heart of His Case'

War between the states, and national uniformity of local institutions and practices, is the aim of Abraham Lincoln, Republican candidate for the U. S. senate, it was charged last night in Chicago by Stephen A. Douglas.

This nation, said the senator, was founded on the white basis, but Lincoln would change this. To do it he is attacking the U. S. supreme court, and denying popular sovereignty.

But like the Russians defending Sebastopol, the Little Giant intends to blast away indiscriminately at all of his enemies, Republicans, abolitionists and traitor Democrats.

THREE weeks after Lincoln spoke in Springfield, Douglas spoke in Chicago. He had received a hero's welcome from a city which four years earlier had hooted instead of hailed.

It was all because of his devotion to "that great principle of self-government, to which my life for many years past has been, and in the future will be devoted. If there is any one principle dearer and more sacred than all others in free governments, it is that which asserts the exclusive right of a free people to form and adopt their own fundamental law, and to manage and regulate their own internal affairs and domestic institutions." This was the heart of his case.

On this ground he fought the Lecompton constitution, as did even some Republicans! The Illinois legislature in 1851 adopted a resolution asserting that "our liberty and independence are based upon the right of the people to form for themselves such a government as they may choose; that this great principle, the birthright of freemen, the gift of Heaven, secured to us by the blood of our ancestors, ought to be extended to future generations, and no limitation ought to be applied to this power in the organization of any territory of the U. S. of either territorial government or state constitution, provided the government so established shall be republican, and in conformity with the Constitution of the United States."

* * *

IN OBEDIENCE to this mandate Douglas introduced the Nebraska bill three years later, doing "as much as any living man" to get it enacted, he said.

"I will be entirely frank with you. My object was to secure the right of the people of each state and of each territory, North or South, to decide the question for themselves, to have slavery or not, just as they chose."

The Lecompton case was a denial of popular sovereignty, he claimed.

Referring to Lincoln's nomination, he called his opponent "a kind, amiable and intelligent gentleman, a good citizen and an honorable opponent," and then attacked "a house divided." This he construed to mean "uniformity in the local laws and domestic institutions of each and all the states of the Union," and an invitation to sectional war.

Uniformity is not possible, he declared, and was not intended by "the Fathers." "I therefore conceive that my friend, Mr. Lincoln, has totally misapprehended the great principles upon which our government rests."

Only by "abolishing state legislatures, blotting out state sovereignty, merging the rights and sovereignty of the states in one consolidated empire, and vesting congress with all the plenary power to make all the police regulations, domestic and local laws, uniform throughout the limits of the republic," could there be uniformity.

* * *

LINCOLN, MOREOVER, was crusading against the supreme court, by attacking the Dred Scott decision, said Douglas. "I have no idea of appealing from the decision of the supreme court upon a constitutional question to the decisions of a tumultuous town meeting."

The Dred Scott decision is opposed by Lincoln because it denies to the Negro the benefits of citizenship, he declared.

"I am free to say to you that in my opinion this government of ours is founded on the white basis. It was made by the white man, for the benefit of the white man, to be administered by white men, in such manner as they should determine. It is also true that a Negro, an Indian, or any other man of an inferior race to a white man, should be permitted to enjoy, and humanity requires that he should have all the rights, privileges and immunities which he is capable of exercising consistent with the safety of society. I would give him every right and every privilege which his capacity would enable him to enjoy, consistent with the good of the society in which he lived."

It is up to each state to decide what those rights and privileges will be, he added. In Illinois the Negro is not a slave but neither does he vote, serve on juries or enjoy political privileges. Other states have other policies.

"Thus you see, my fellow-citizens, that the issues between Mr. Lincoln and myself, as respective candidates for the U. S. senate, as made up, are direct, unequivocal and irreconcilable. He goes for uniformity in our domestic institutions, for a war of sections, until one or the other shall be subdued. I go for the great principle of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, the right of the people to decide for themselves."

Lincoln wars on the supreme court; Douglas upholds it. Lincoln objects to the Dred Scott decision because he believes in Negro-white equality; Douglas upholds the court because he is opposed to Negro equality.

Closing, he charged an unholy alliance between the Republicans and certain federal office holders seeking to divide and conquer the Democratic party. He will hit them all just as the Russians hit French, English and Turk alike when firing a broadside in the defense of Sebastopol. He confessed he had not been in bed for two nights, thanked them for the welcome, and retired. It was Lincoln's turn.

3. Lincoln in Chicago

'A Vast Moral Issue, Not a Little Thing'

In a biting answer to charges made against him by Judge Douglas the night before, Abraham Lincoln firmly denied seeking a sectional war, or uniformity in local affairs, and called the judge's arguments those by which kings have enslaved people in all ages.

Speaking in Chicago to a crowd of some 9,000 people, the Springfield lawyer who seeks to unseat the popular Douglas called popular sovereignty "squatter sovereignty," and claimed credit for his own party for defeat of the Lecompton constitution opposed by Douglas. He made a strong plea for party loyalty and racial equality.

LINCOLN was on the platform at the Tremont house in Chicago when Douglas spoke July 9. His reply, off to a slow start, mostly defensive, adding little new to his arguments, sparkled nonetheless with gems of passionate expression.

About the Russian bear and the enemy alliance, Lincoln good-naturedly reminded Douglas that the allies took Sebastopol! And certainly he and his party desired to divide and conquer the opposition, but there had been no money-passing conspiracy to get the job done.

Popular sovereignty as applied to Kansas actually amounted to squatter sovereignty, he said; "the right of the people to govern themselves, to be sovereign of their own affairs while they were squatted down . . . on a territory that did not belong to them, in the sense that a state belongs to the people who inhabit it—when it belonged to the nation."

The presence of slavery in the territory before the people have a chance to decide prejudges the issue, according to Lincoln. He denied that any one is opposing the right of the people to form a constitution of their own, and said Douglas was correct in opposing the Lecompton constitution. But Douglas did not invent popular sovereignty, said Lincoln, and the Lecompton constitution was defeated by 90 some Republicans to 20 Democrats, in the house of representatives, and by 20 Republicans and three Democrats in the senate.

(A heckler who kept interrupting caused Lincoln to say acidly, "You don't know what you are talking about, my friend. I am quite willing to answer any gentleman in the crowd who asks an intelligent question.")

* * *

SLAVERY was on the way out when Douglas introduced the Nebraska bill, Lincoln continued. The bill reversed the course in which the framers of the Constitution had placed slavery. He denied desiring or fomenting sectional war or any intent to upset slavery where it existed.

Agreed, Illinois does not have the right to interfere with the cranberry laws of Indiana, the oyster laws of Virginia or the liquor laws of Maine. Only because Douglas regards slavery as "a little thing" does he conclude that Lincoln favors "bringing about an amalgamation of all the other little things in the Union." Many people in the states regard slavery as "a vast moral evil," not a little thing.

The Dred Scott decision he opposes, but does not resist. While not intending to take Dred Scott from his master in defiance of the court, he nevertheless refuses to accept the decision "as a political rule." In congress he would in spite of the decision, vote against establishing slavery in a territory. He would work to have the decision reversed, peaceably.

"The sacredness that Judge Douglas throws around this decision is a degree of sacredness that has never been before thrown around any other decision."

Douglas himself approved the act of President Jackson in declaring, contrary to a supreme court decision, that a national bank was unconstitutional, Lincoln reminded his audience, and Douglas.

* * *

THE JUDGE is playing footsie with the file of the Republican party while attacking the rank; falsely claiming to have been instructed by the Illinois legislature "to be always introducing Nebraska bills," while really "standing on the Cincinnati platform of his party." Republicans supporting Douglas will find themselves "saddled, bridled and harnessed and waiting to be driven over to the slavery extension camp of the nation."

The nation, as Douglas claimed, was made for white men, but "I protest, now, and forever," said Lincoln, "against that counterfeit logic which presumes that because I do not want a Negro woman for a slave, I do necessarily want her for a wife. My understanding is that I need not have her for either, but as God made us separate, we can leave one another alone and do one another much good thereby."

The Fourth of July is a celebration not only for those descended from the founders but for those who came later to our shores, for German, Irish, French and Scandinavian. These have no ties of blood with the colonists but in the Declaration of Independence—"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal" — they are "blood of the blood, and flesh of the flesh of the men who wrote that Declaration. This is the electric cord in that Declaration that links the hearts of patriotic and liberty-loving men together, that will link those patriotic hearts as long as the love of freedom exists in the minds of men throughout the world."

The Little Giant's arguments about inferiority are those which have been used by kings to enslave people in all ages, ostensibly because "the people were better off for being ridden."

"This argument of the judge is the same old serpent that says you work and I eat, you toil and I will enjoy the fruits of it."

It doesn't stop with the Negro. "If one man says it does not mean a Negro, why not another say it does not mean some other man? If we don't believe the Declaration, let us tear it out of the Constitution!"

Lincoln quoted the scriptural admonition, "As your Father in Heaven is perfect, be ye also perfect." Not that perfection is really expected or regarded as possible, he explained, but that it is to be reached for. So with created equal—"let it be as nearly reached as we can."

"My friends, I have detained you about as long as I desired to do, and I have only to say, let us discard all this quibbling about this man and the other man—this race and the other race being inferior, and therefore they must be placed in an inferior position—discarding our standard that we have left us. Let us discard all these things, and unite as one people throughout this land, until we shall once more stand up declaring that all men are created equal."

The nation still sits.

4. Douglas Blisters 'House Divided'

How Will You End the Division?

Slavery may be excluded from a territory by the failure to enact local protective laws, Senator Stephen A. Douglas claimed at a Springfield political rally yesterday. Although a supporter of the supreme court decision in the Dred Scott case, in which the Constitution was said to grant no power to either congress or territorial legislatures to exclude slavery, Douglas said local regulations are the practical tools of popular sovereignty.

Lincoln would make the supreme court a tool of party, Douglas claimed, would make Negroes citizens, would abolish state legislatures, and conduct his war against the South from "this side of the river."

DOUGLAS spoke at Bloomington on the 16th and then, the next day, in Springfield. The speeches were much the same, with the second having the edge in polish and form. It was a blistering attack on Lincoln's "House Divided" speech.

After a long defense of popular sovereignty in which he told of his opposition to the Lecompton constitution as not being the act and deed of the people, and his opposition to the English bill which would have loaded the gun in favor of the Lecompton constitution, he said:

"My principle is to recognize each state of the Union as independent, sovereign and equal in its sovereignty."

By adopting the procedure employed in Minnesota, endorsed by the president, future Kansas-like difficulties could be avoided. In Minnesota the constitution was submitted to the people, no strings attached.

The compromise measures of 1850, supported by the doctrine of popular sovereignty, would prevent future outbreaks of violence and attendant evils. His own legislature withdrew its instructions to its senators to support the Wilmot proviso and proclaimed the "great principle of self-government," which Douglas incorporated into the Nebraska bill, he related.

He suffered because of this doctrine of his, but stuck to his guns. Then he could have traveled "from Boston to Chicago by the light of my own effigies," but he predicted that in five years the public attitude would reverse, and it did.

It was even said that he had joined the Republicans because he supported the Crittendon-Montgomery bill which would have given the people of Kansas a fair choice. Actually, they joined him, and he would continue to support the bill while hoping Republicans would do the same and replace their demand for "no more slave states" with advocacy of popular sovereignty.

* * *

THEN HE TURNED to Lincoln. His only answer to the conspiracy charge was to say: "I do not think so badly of the president of the United States, the highest judicial tribunal on earth, as to believe that they were capable in their action and decision of entering into political intrigues for partisan purposes."

Verbatim, Douglas read the paragraph from Lincoln's speech about "a house divided." How is Lincoln going to end the division? He will not claim that congress has the power to abolish slavery in the states; he knows that a constitutional amendment is not likely to pass since a two-thirds majority of each house and ratification by three-fourths of the states is required. The only way open is "to abolish the state legislatures, blot out of existence the state sovereignties, invest congress with full and plenary power over all the local and domestic police regulations of the different states of this Union." Achieved would be a uniformity not of liberty but of despotism.

Lincoln has denied that he intends to go into slave states and interfere with their affairs. "All he proposes is to invite the people of Illinois and every other free state to band together as one sectional party, governed and divided by a geographical line, to make war upon the institution of slavery in the slaveholding states." By a sectional party, a sectional president would be elected to form a sectional administration to govern the whole country.

"In other words, he invites a war of the North against the South, a warfare of the free states against the slaveholding states."

Lincoln wouldn't go into Kentucky to start the fire, but "he would do it from this side of the river." The outrage is the same, said Douglas. As though the British would shell Buffalo from their side of the Niagara river, and then disclaim liability on the grounds that they were firing from their own territory.

"Thus Mr. Lincoln is going to plant his abolition batteries all along the banks of the Ohio river and throw his shells into Virginia and Kentucky and into Missouri, and blow up the institution of slavery," and then claim not to have interfered in their affairs!

Ignoring Lincoln's disclaimers, Douglas repeated the charge that his opponent favored uniformity of local practices and customs, and had declared war on the supreme court.

* * *

TURNING TO the Dred Scott case, ignoring the decision itself, he asked how Lincoln intended to have the decision reversed. Answering his own question he noted that supreme court decisions are final, since it is "the ultimate tribunal, the highest judicial tribunal on earth," and there is no appeal for there is no one to whom to appeal. Lincoln appealed to the state legislature, and proposes to appeal to congress, said Douglas. But this is unheard of.

Then Lincoln would have to have a Republican president elected who would appoint judges to the supreme court, in case vacancies occurred, catechised to vote properly on the Dred Scott case.

"It is a proposition to make that court the corrupt, unscrupulous tool of a political party." For himself: "I intend to yield obedience to the highest tribunals in the land in all cases whether their opinions are in conformity with my views as a lawyer or not."

As to Lincoln's claim that the Dred Scott decision was a denial of popular sovereignty, Douglas, declaring it "interesting as a matter of theory," said that "if the people of a territory want slavery they will have it, and if they do not want it they will drive it out, and you cannot force it on them. Slavery cannot exist a day in the midst of an unfriendly people with unfriendly laws." Lincoln's claim is theoretical, he said.

So there are few slaves in Kansas because a majority of the people opposed slavery and the climate was unfavorable.

So in Illinois, where slavery was prohibited by the ordinance of 1787, the territorial legislature, in defiance, sanctioned obtaining slaves in Kentucky.

* * *

LINCOLN'S MAIN objection to the Dred Scott decision, and Douglas' main objection to Lincoln's main objection, involves the Negro and citizenship.

"I am not in favor of Negro citizenship. I do not believe that a Negro is a citizen or ought to be a citizen. I believe that this government of ours was founded, and wisely founded, upon the white basis. It was made by white men for the benefit of white men and their posterity, to be executed and managed by white men."

Whatever subcitizenship rights are to be granted to the inferiors is up to each state to decide.

"If the people of Maine think a Negro their equal, and that he has a right to come and kill their vote by a Negro vote, they have a right to think so, I suppose, and I have no disposition to interfere with them."

"Kentucky has decided that it is not consistent with her safety and her prosperity to allow a Negro to have either political rights or his freedom, and hence she makes him a slave. That is her business, not mine. It is her right under the Constitution of the country. The sovereignty of Kentucky, and that alone, can decide that question, and when she decide it there is no power on earth to which you can appeal to reverse it."

Referring to Lincoln's interpretation of the Declaration of Independence, he said plainly: "He thinks that the Negro is his brother. I do not think that the Negro is any kin of mine at all. And here is the difference between us."

Had the signers of the Declaration intended to include Negroes in it they would have abolished slavery in all the states, and conferred all political rights and privilege upon them, Douglas declared.

Now he broadened his concept of equality to include European immigrants, the Irish, German, French and Scoth, as well as the English.

The consequences of Lincoln's doctrine (not the rightness or wrongness of it, to which Douglas never addressed himself) would be that the state of Illinois, for instance, would be overrun by Negroes. They would not only vote but would hold office, in the legislature, as governor, on the supreme court bench. And then would Lincoln "refuse the judge the privilege of marrying any woman he may select?" Douglas asked.

The result of racial amalgamation in Mexico, Central and South America and in the West India islands has been "demoralization and degradation."

More praise of Lincoln—"a worthy gentleman." But he is courting Lecompton votes, refuses to oppose the Lecompton constitution, and espouses "radical abolition principles." The firing continued.

DEBATE MARKER — This granite boulder in Washington park, a short distance southwest of the Lincoln-Douglas plaque, is believed to mark the exact spot of the debate platform in 1858.

"No man of this generation has grown more rapidly before the country than Lincoln in this canvass." The New York Evening Post.

Quincy's first sheriff jumped off a steamboat near Galena and drowned, and its second headed for Texas, leaving county and citizens "his everlasting creditors."

Asher Anderson was Quincy's first merchant, opening a store in Brown's log tavern in 1826, offering groceries, calicos, flannels and domestics.

5. Contentions in Springfield

Just Before the Battle

Douglas was charged by Lincoln with breaking down the moral effect of the supreme court decision on the national bank, as Lincoln fired back in the heated political duel shaping up for Little Giant's senate seat. Both men spoke yesterday in Springfield.

Lincoln reviewed the political facts; the apportionment disadvantage to the Republicans, depriving them of from six to 10 representatives in the state legislature, the hold-over Democrats in predominantly Republican districts.

There is also the disadvantage he noted, accruing from the fact that "all the anxious politicians" of the Douglas party "have seen in his round, jolly, fruitful face, post offices, land offices, marshalships, and cabinet appointments, chargeships and foreign missions, bursting and sprouting out in wonderful exuberance ready to be laid hold of by their greedy hands."

"On the contrary nobody has ever expected me to be president. In my poor lean, lank, face, nobody has ever seen that any cabbages were sprouting out."

DOUGLAS had made three main points, with auxiliary "thunderings of cannon . . . marching and music . . . fizzlegigs and fireworks." The points were popular sovereignty, and two attacks against Lincoln's speech of June 16.

It is really the question of slavery in regard to popular sovereignty that is at issue, not popular sovereignty and "minor domestic matters of a territory or a state," Lincoln claimed.

The judge is actually opposing popular sovereignty by sustaining the Dred Scott decision. In favoring the right of people to adopt their own constitution when they become a state, he is opposed by no one.

He agreed with Douglas in opposition to the Lecomoton constitution but the dividend of credit belongs largely to others, not the judge, he said.

"Does he place his superior claim to credit on the ground that he performed a good act which was never expected of him?" Lincoln asked. Then it is with him as in the parable of the lost sheep, in which the rejoicing was over the one sheep, lost and recovered, rather than over the ninety and nine safely in the fold.

Trumbull made a speech against Lecompton before Douglas did. And a Douglas declaration that the people of Kansas should vote on the constitution or be held liable for not voting, was refuted by Lincoln, who noted that the time to register had passed and many could not vote.

* * *

REPLYING to the Douglas charge about firing into Kentucky from Illinois, Lincoln restated his belief that "the institution of slavery ought to be placed in the very attitude where the framers of this government placed it." He would arrest the effort to make slavery perpetual and universal, placing it instead in the course of ultimate extinction.

In Virginia slaves who had been given a choice in their master's will between remaining in slavery or going to Liberia, chose to be liberated. But the state supreme court ruled in favor of the owners to whom the slaves had descended, stating that a Negro cannot make a choice, had no legal power to choose, could not perform the condition upon which his freedom depended. This represents a change in sentiment on the question of slavery, Lincoln asserted.

Answering the charge that he would abolish state legislatures and force uniformity on the states, Lincoln asked why none of these things resulted in the days in which "courts did have the fashion of deciding that taking a slave into a free country made him free."

Opposed he is to the Dred Scott decision, but not in the sense claimed by the judge.

"By resisting it as a political rule, I disturb no right of property, create no disorder, excite no mobs."

In 1820 Thomas Jefferson wrote to a certain Jarvis who had given him a piece of writing, approving it but citing what he called an error.

"You seem in Pages 84 and 148 to consider the judges as the ultimate arbiters of all constitutional questions — a very dangerous doctrine indeed and one which would place us under the despotism of an oligarchy. Our judges are as honest as other men, and not more so. They have, with others, the same passions for party, for power, and the privilege of their corps. . . . their power is the more dangerous as they are in office for life, and not responsible, as the other functionaries are, to the elective control. The Constitution has erected no such single tribunal, knowing that to whatever hands confided, with the corruptions of time and party, its members would become despots. It has more wisely made all the departments co-equal and co-sovereign within themselves."

The Democratic party, Douglas included, has "in the very teeth of the supreme court," held a national bank to be unconstitutional. It is Douglas who is guilty of supporting the decisions he likes and opposing those he does not like, Lincoln countered.

Douglas calls the Dred Scott decision an abstraction. "I submit that the proposition that the thing which determines whether a man is free or a slave is rather concrete than abstract."

And slavery was spread in the first place against the will of the people "the mother government refusing to prohibit it, and withholding from the people of the colonies the authority to prohibit it for themselves."

* * *

ON THE QUESTION of what he intends to do about the Dred Scott decision, Lincoln put the judge on the spot. He said: "Well, Judge, will you please tell me what you did about the bank decision? Will you not graciously allow us to do with the Dred Scott decision precisely as you did with the bank decision? You succeeded in breaking down the moral effect of that decision; did you find it necessary to amend the Constitution? Or to set up a court of Negroes in order to do it?"

The Douglas claim to the mantle of Clay struck Lincoln as a little strange, he said, since the Old Whig was identified with the Missouri Compromise, declared unconstitutional by Douglas and the supreme court.

Let Douglas and his followers amend the Declaration of Independence if they want it to exclude Negroes. Douglas has in fact shifted his ground. Last year he said it meant Americans in America were equal to Englishmen in England. Then he reconstructed it to include others who came to this country after the revolution. And in his last speech Douglas said it includes Europeans. How about Russians in Asia? Abe queried.

"I have said that I do not understand the Declaration to mean that all men were created equal in all respects," But all men are equal in "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness," and in "the right to put into his mouth the bread that his own hands have earned."

"All I ask for the Negro is that if you do not like him, let him alone. If God gave him but little, that little let him enjoy."

In the nation's beginning, slavery was a fact that had to be reckoned with. To eradicate it would have made union impossible. They gave power to congress to abolish the slave trade after 20 years and prohibited it in the territories.

The judge has not answered the conspiracy charges, concluded Lincoln, so he renewed them. The battle was just beginning.

The Great Day

Douglas' Brass Cannon Boomed But His Voice Was Giving Out

LONG before dawn on Wednesday the 13th of October, 1858, lights kindled in towns and farms within horse distance of Quincy. Steamboat boilers were fired upriver at Keokuk and downriver at Louisiana, Mo. A special train waited on a siding in Macomb.

Heavy rains and cold dismal weather had dulled spirits and kept folks inside the week before, but that morning the sky was clear and small boys popped awake to the crackling of wood stoves, the spitting of frying bacon and air charged with excitement, expectation, and wonder.

From Linneus, Mo., Linn county, 120 miles from Quincy, a delegation which came half the distance by stage coach was about to reach the big city to cheer for Douglas. Folks were on their way from three states to the hub of the tri-state area. They came on foot, in wagons, carriages, steamboats, trains, and on horseback.

Roads were heavy with mud, rutted and pitted by the persistent rains, almost impassable in spots. Rain-swelled, the Mississippi headed for the gulf.

The packets St. Louis and Keokuk left Keokuk at 6:30 that morning. The fare was $1.50 round trip, supper included, and departure time from Quincy that night was to be 6 o'clock.

* * *

DOUGLAS HAD already arrived. He had spoken in Augusta, and Tuesday night he boarded his special train with a brass cannon mounted on a flatcar to announce by booms the coming of the champion of popular sovereignty.

It was just five days since the Galesburg debate and there had been no rest in between. There were almost daily speeches, sometimes two or three in a day, and the constant attention to be paid to the myriad details of party organization, campaign strategy, local problems and disputes and manipulations.

It had been going on for three months and both men showed the strain. Though apparently built like an ox, albeit a short one, Douglas was plagued with recurrent attacks of fever and throat trouble. At the end of a frenetic congressional campaign with Orville H. Browning of Quincy in 1843, Douglas the winner, both men were prostrated. Now the voice of the Little Giant was in protest and the usually rich full tones were that day to be muffled. Many would complain they could not hear. At Alton his voice would be harshness and courage.

The Douglas train stopped Tuesday night in Camp Point, then inhabited by about 1,000 people, and was greeted with a tremendous demonstration. A military cavalcade, brass bands, a great bonfire, hundreds of blazing torches, every house and building in town lighted, hundreds of people gathered from farms and near-by towns.

With no particular hurry to get on to Quincy, the train stopped long enough to permit short speeches by Isaac N. Morris of Quincy and Major Roosevelt, a candidate for the legislature in Hancock county.

They thought highly of Douglas in Camp Point, and the demonstration was planned "in token of that tumultuous, patriotic fire which swells and glows with burning power, ripening well all the affections which ever have and ever will continue to move in consonant harmony promoting the Man of the Age from honor to honor until he be the recipient of the noblest and highest laurels in the gift of the greatest nation of people on the widespread earth of their kindred Maker." The chairman of arrangements said so.

A Douglas flag had been stitched by the women, and the men had found a great tree to trim into a flagpole. For the next day's journey to Quincy a committee was preparing a "hickory wagon in such manner as to float our banner o'er the prairies when we shall wing our mearry (sic) hearts to and from Quincy."

* * *

IT WAS a homecoming of sorts. When Douglas sat on the circuit court bench in the Fifth judicial district, living in Quincy for two years, and officially for six years longer, he endeared himself to folks in the county east of Quincy by ordering the county commissioners to move the county seat from Quincy to Columbus, as directed by the voters. It never happened, but through no fault of the Judge's.

In his 1843 race against Browning, Douglas lost in both Quincy and the county, though he won the election. But Browning was then the local Giant.

Arriving in Quincy at 9:30 Tuesday night, an hour and a half later than expected, Douglas was met by a wild demonstration, accounts in the rival Whig notwithstanding. The Herald called it "the most magnificent display that has ever been made in this city," and no doubt it was.

There wasn't a full - fledged depot. The term was applied to a building on Front street in which an agent for the railroad sold tickets. Trains stopped between Broadway and Spring, and the big awning in front of Henry Schey's saloon served the travelling public as a waiting room. People spoke of being "at the cars."

The first locomotive to reach the city arrived by barge, not rail, in 1854, and in January, 1856, track reached Galesburg, and thence Chicago and the East.

As their champion stepped down from his train, cannon boomed, trumpets blared and "not less than three thousand live Democrats" hoorahed! It was a sight that "struck terror to the hearts of their Black Republican foes," chortled the Herald editor.

Officially unimpressed, the Whig editor called it all "a kind of torchlight procession . . . a most miserable fizzle. About fifty boys carried the torches, and the crowd itself did not number more than two hundred, many of whom were Republicans."

The welcoming mob escorted its gladiator up Spring street to Fourth, where it turned north toward Maine and the Quincy House where Douglas was to spend the night. At Vermont the first file stopped and the entire parade rested while Douglas paid his respects to the wife of his friend, William A. Richardson, then governor of the territory of Nebraska.

The Richardson house was on the southwest corner of Fourth and Broadway and the Richardson name would be second only to that of Douglas in the Democratic annals of the time and state.

* * *

PROCEEDING to the Quincy House, the boisterous procession stopped to give the Judge three times three mighty cheers, left him for the night, and continued to the square where they were addressed by Moses Bane — "in a most able and unanswerable manner," said the Herald; in a manner which "did not do much for himself or the cause in which he is engaged," said the Whig.

One of several hotels in the city, the Quincy House was a famous and imposing structure on the southeast corner of Fourth and Maine.

John Tillson built the Quincy House when there were not a dozen brick buildings in the city and only two or three on the square. Opened in 1838, the grand hotel had been constructed and furnished for the then staggering sum of $106,000. At the time there were no streets graded to the river, and Maine stopped going east at Sixth. Hampshire gave out at Eighth and north of Broadway and south of Kentucky was little more than woods and corn fields.

The next year Hampshire was made passable to Twelfth, and Maine was graded to Eighth. A gully 20 feet deep had to be filled at Sixth to let the street go by.

Sometime around midnight the crowd dispersed and the city settled down to a fitful sleep, hotels and rooming houses and livery stables jamepacked, committee members tossing and turning, their brains reeling with details and dire possibilities, band instruments and uniforms polished and pressed and poised. Douglas asleep in the Quincy House, Lincoln resting in Macomb.

Parades Terrific But They Had to Stop for Lunch

BY 9 Wednesday morning traffic was heavy, boys were climbing trees in the park, staking claims to vantage points, if they weren't running errands and reluctantly participating in the complicated arrangements necessary to keep Mamma in her hoops and Papa out of his cups on the great day no longer a'coming but "done arrived."

In the park, the platform ready, chairs were being placed for the ladies. Fifty years later the "200 survivors of the debate," the slavery issue forgotten, the Nebraska bill plum out of contention would spend some hours debating just where that platform had stood. "Over thar," some said. "Uh uh," others replied, "right hyar!"

Tom Heirs remembered in 1904 that the stand was 32 feet long, being built on two 16-foot joists, and about 16 feet wide. The post at the northwest corner of the stand was two feet southeast of the fountain where the old Liberty pole once stood. The almost unanimous decision of the surviving 200 in 1908 was that one corner of it was 100 feet west of Fifth street and 25 feet from the center walk of the park, on a line between two linden trees, and 40 feet northwest of the Wood monument.

* * *

BY 9 O'CLOCK the Republicans were assembling in Jefferson square, preparing to meet Old Abe at "the cars" and escort him through town. Jefferson school then stood on the north half of the square on Broadway between Fifth and Sixth, while on the south half was the first town cemetery, all but filled by the dreadful cholera epidemic of 1833.

There were 22 prominent men on the committee of welcome, including Abraham Jonas and John Wood, Jr., Flagg, Bushnell, Finlay, and Comstock. John Wood, Joel Rice and Jonas were the committee of reception, and E. K. Stone was marshal of the day. The marshal had appointed two aides, Capt. B. M. Prentiss and John Wood, Jr., and 47 assistant marshals.

At the head of the procession were to be the marshal and his aides. Behind them were to march Steig's brass band, Republican clubs from Quincy and elsewhere, on foot, then carriages with Lincoln, the reception committee, and "distinguished strangers," private carriages with ladies, delegations in carriages and wagons, and, finally, delegations and citizens on horseback.

With its right at Sixth street, the parade, minus Lincoln and the distinguished strangers, headed west on Broadway. While the bulk of the procession waited at Third street, the reception committee continued to the "depot" to meet Lincoln, who traveled without a cannon.

* * *

NOT MUCH of a parader, Lincoln wanted to walk the distance to the home of his friend, Orville Browning, but of course this was not to be considered and the future president was assisted into a carriage, the reception committee having received. The divided procession was reformed and set out to impress the populace.

South on Third they went to Jersey where they turned east and marched clear to Eighth street. Turning north on Eighth they blared noisily to Hampshire, thence west to Browning's home just east of Seventh street.

As announced, the procession was to circle the square and stop in front of the court house where the official reception was to take place. But the reception was held at Browning's home instead and an alternate parade route was not published.

At Browning's, John Tillson presented Lincoln with an elegant bouquet which was the gift of the Republican ladies of Quincy. Tillson, the Republican candidate for state senator from this district, in "a neat and appropriate speech," welcomed the future Emancipator, and Lincoln expressed his appreciation.

Then a choir of young ladies and gentlement sang a campaign song to the tune of Columbia, the Gem of the Ocean. It was about noon when the parading stopped, and Lincoln had dinner at the Brownings.

* * *

BROWNING was in Carthage on a legal case, but Lincoln was welcomed by his wife to a home made famous not only by its illustrious owners but also by its renowned visitors. There Lincoln remained until the time arrived to walk to Washington park for the encounter.

Meanwhile Douglas was being honored by proxy in a rival demonstration, marshalled by his old friend, Dr. I. T. Wilson. Looking for an office in 1843, Dr. Wilson was directed to one about to be vacated. In it he found Stephen A. Douglas, in between the supreme-circuit office, and Douglas a friend and future parade marshal. circuit court bench and tahe U. S. house of representatives. Wilson obtained the office, and Douglas a sistant marshals of the grand parade of the Democracy formed the units in front of the court house, in the middle of the block on Fifth between Maine and Hampshire, and about the time Lincoln's procession reached Third and Broadway the parade of his rival reached Fifth and Broadway. The joint was really jumping.

Triumphant before the event, the Douglasites, with color and sound dazzling the eye and pounding the ear, moved west on Broadway to Twelfth, where they met delegations from the north. They headed south to Maine, picked up delegations from the east and south, marched all the way down Maine to Third, and turned north. The monstrous procession continued to Vermont, then west to Seventh, north to Hampshire, and west to Washington park. Circling the park, they entered through the turnstiles at the southeast corner and gathered around the platform.

There was a double fence around the park with turnstiles at each corner, apparently designed to keep cattle out. The outer fence was a block-long hitching rail on each side of the park, and the inner board fence was the cattle and hog stopper. Cattle were driven to market then and the park was a too-convenient space in the midst of the city.

* * *

FROM A WINDOW on the second floor of the Quincy House, Douglas had reviewed his troops, waving to them and receiving their lusty cheers in a wave of sound rising from the street as the paraders passed the hotel.

In the lead were 32 young ladies, each bearing the flag of a state. In an aside the Herald center noted there were only 17 young ladies in the Lincoln parade, bearing flags for only 17 states! From which fact readers were to see how sectional was the Republican party and how national the Democracy.

Twenty giant-sized American flags and numberless smaller ones waved above the Douglas paraders, and in the forefront was carried a huge likeness of the Judge, with a wreath around it. There were festooned wagons and several bands, the Herald reported, and altogether it was the largest procession ever seen in Quincy. Just the units on hand at the start took two hours to pass the Quincy House, the Herald said, while the Republicans passed Third and Jersey in a mere half hour.

The Republican effort was perhaps half a mile long, said the Herald, and included between 400 and 500 people.

"Oh?" replied Dallam of the Whig. An impartial businessman friend of his who just happened to time both parades found, most accurately, that it took the Republican procession a full 19½ minutes to pass his place of business, and there was not a single stoppage, while the Democrats got by in 12½ minutes including a brief stoppage. This indicates a Republican majority of between 500 and 600. Now where were we?

Sometime that morning, while the reluctant Lincoln was being paraded through the city, Douglas took a walk. His roots were not deep here — nor were they anywhere — but this had been his base of operations for two years and there were friends to greet and familiar places to visit.

An old crony, John L. Bert, later recalled that Douglas stopped at his carpet shop that morning, on the west side of the square, and sat out front chatting for half an hour. At the end of the half hour Douglas noted the time, said he had to shave and eat lunch before the debate, and walked off toward the Quincy House.

The greatest events must tolerate interruptions for eating. Stephen pulled up a chair to a table in the famous old hotel, and Abraham tucked in his napkin in the home of an old friend

Breathing Room For Abe's Feet

As Lincoln walked away from Washington park shortly after 5 that Wednesday afternoon — the energies of the crowd released into thousands of directions, motions and sounds, he was followed by a small boy.

Man and boy walked east on Hampshire, the man still flushed with the heat of debate, nodding and waving to passersby, the boy just walking and watching.

The gangly statesman, carrying an umbrella, stopped near Sixth and entered the barbershop of Adam Helmer, brother-in-law of Edward Sohm, the little boy.

Perhaps it was through the window of that barbershop that David R. Locks saw Lincoln. He wrote of it sometime later: "I never saw a more thoughtful face. I never saw a more dignified face. I never saw so sad a face." Lincoln took his boots off, explaining so Locks could bear: "I like to give my feet a chance to breathe."

The boy waited while the statesman was shaved and his feet were breathing, and then followed as the great man walked the short distance to the home of Orville H Browning, and perhaps never saw him again, and never forgot the figure, or the face, or the feet, of that man.

Lincoln stayed the night at Browning's and Douglas remained at the Quincy House. The next morning both men took the steamboat to Alton for the last of the seven joint meetings and the wind-up of the most vigorous and celebrated senatorial campaigns in American history.

The Crowd Was Alive, and It Loved a Good Fight

FINALLY the parading, the horn blowing, the flag waving, the great hoopla which proved nothing but enthusiasm, and proved it well, simmered down to a buzz, as a crowd of perhaps 12,000 stood filling the square and the streets around it, to hear from the two men who were supposedly the reason for the whole affair.

"If we were compelled tomorrow to listen to a repetition of the great debate held in Washington park in 1858 between those two great men, Lincoln and Douglas," Henry Asbury wrote in 1882, "we should consider it a great tax upon our patience."

For three hours the people listened: first to Lincoln for an hour, then to Douglas for an hour and a half, and then again to Lincoln for half an hour. Old men and young women and little children listened.

It is too much to suppose they listened raptly, with undivided attention, or silently without rattles and whispers and occasional yells. For many the speaking part was just a front, just an excuse for getting together, seeing old friends and making new ones. Little boys must have been scurrying among the hoop skirts, and flicking acorns at giggling girls. And mothers were hushing babies who didn't think much of the hushing. It couldn't have been quiet; not 12,000 people in one spot for three hours. Perhaps they weren't taxed as Asbury said his contemporaries would have been, but they were alive! And there was the sound and movement of

* * *

SHORTLY BEFORE zero hour, a portion of the stand collapsed. It was apparently a bench along one edge of the platform, set up for the ladies. No one was seriously injured, it was reported, and the ladies, more frightened than hurt, were taken to the office of Dr. L. D. Wilson in the old frame Tillson building opposite the southwest corner of the square. Writing of it, Tom Heirs noted parenthetically that Watson, when not playing chess or dominoes inside, was likely to be seen seated on a second-floor gallery facing the square.

Enterprising young Ben Miller hopped onto the platform and sold Douglas two cigars. Lincoln demurred.

As the flurry subsided, Lincoln, introduced by his old friend Abraham Jonas, began. No less than 20 times the speech was interrupted by laughter or verbal response. Some 60 times the crowd responded to Douglas' speech, loudly and clearly enough for reporters to record. And in his rejoinder—two and one-half hours having elapsed—Lincoln had the crowd with him. In the report of his half-hour speech there are 56 insertions of laughter or words it is far from the least amazing aspect of the show.

Approval brought forth cries of "Good," or "That's the doctrine!" A telling point against the opposition earned a "Hit him again!" The cheers and the laughter came in a variety of sizes and descriptions. There were just plain "cheers," and simple "laughter." But now and again there were "loud cheers," "roars of laughter," "uproarious laughter," "enthusiastic cheers," and "prolonged cheers."

* * *

WHEN DOUGLAS asked the crowd at the beginning of his oration if they would please "omit all expressions of applause or approbation," they answered, "We cannot help it, Douglas." Of course he didn't expect they could or would.

The Little Giant earned "great applause," "vociferous applause," "immense cheers," "great laughter." To almost every question he asked, someone in the crowd conveniently gave an answer. Did Lincoln reply to a Douglas charge? "No," someone yelled. "He will not answer," declared Douglas, in the shrewdly calculated dialogue. "He's afraid," responded a friend.

He kept asking the question and his friends kept answering them, and strangely he renewed his opening request: "My friends, if you are my friends, you will be silent, instead of interrupting me by your applause." But he kept baiting them and they loved it.

"Hit him on the woolly side," an eager Douglasite yelled, picturing Lincoln backed into a corner, another cried, "He can't get out of it!"

"Tremendous cheering," "thundering cheers," "tremendous applause," and laughter in a thousand shades and pitches sparkled and rumbled and burst from the crowd as Lincoln wound up the exchange.

Near the end, when Lincoln had scored with a jibe which triggered a burst of laughter, and some disgruntled opponent growled "Your time is almost out," others yelled to Lincoln: "Go on, go on—we'll listen all day."

* * *

IT IS DIFFICULT to conjure such enthusiasm while reading the speeches. But they were meant primarily to be heard, not read. Douglas especially was not a writer. He was a master stump speaker.

And these were days before the legends. Respected by his political associates and friends, Lincoln was not then the Great Emancipator the Civil war president who became a sort of God to millions, and a monster to other millions. He was just a candidate for political office.

Carl Sandburg said Lincoln was something out of a child's picture book, sad and comic looking at once, like a shape "a Great Artist has scrawled from careless clay." "He looked like an original plan for an extra-long horse or a lean tawny buffalo, that a Changer had suddenly whisked into a manshape." "He didn't wear clothes. Rather, clothes hung upon him as if on a rack to dry, or on a loose ladder up a windswept chimney."

Francis Grierson said at Alton, Lincoln "rose from his seat, stretched his long, bony limbs upward as if to get them into working order, and stood like some solitary pine on a lonely summit."

* * *

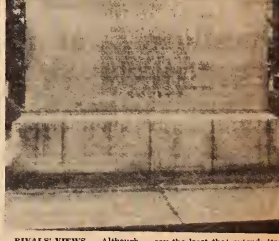
CARL SCHURZ was not altogether pleased with Lincoln's gestures, which he said Lincoln later learned to control more satisfactorily, and he said that occasionally Lincoln's voice, normally of medium pitch, pleasing and far-reaching, rose too high and became strident.

But Joseph W. Fifer, who heard Lincoln at Bloomington, reported hearing Lincoln say: "In the right to eat the bread his own hands have earned he is the equal of Judge Douglas, or of myself, or of any living man." And as he brought out these last words, said Fifer, Lincoln "raised high his long right arm with the clinched hand on the end of it—high above his head — and he shook it in the air and then brought it down. And when he did that, it—it made the hair on a man's head stand up, and the breath stop to his throat."

Hearing him a man knew, as Sandburg did, that his memory was "cross-indexed with tangled human causes."

Douglas, so different in stature and mind, was equally effective, though, again, quite differently. Short, powerfully built, with a massive head and a proud bearing, Douglas was a humorless but relentless and aggressive speaker. His rich, full voice was an orator's delight. With it he played the strings of human passion and hope as well as prejudice. He was the master politician who knew where he was going and how he was to get there. He knew the people, what they thought, how they reasoned and responded. And what they came for, he provided with unequalled craftsmanship and overwhelming power. As he held a crowd, so he had held and dominated the United States senate. Then sure of his ground, as in more than one senatorial skirmish, he could not be touched.

It was said that the Democrats had the numerical edge in Quincy that day; that crowds from the slave state of Missouri and from a predominantly Democratic constituency, gave them more strength than the Republicans had mustered. But it was a "Go it husband! Go it bear!" audience which, like the women in Lincoln's story, loved a good fight. And at the end of it, each party was as sure as it had been in the beginning that on its side was truth and valor, and God's hero had wrested victory from the enemy!



FIFTH STREET — This picture was taken shortly after the Civil war. The debate was held in the park from a stand erected among the trees visible in the picture and just opposite the court house, the four-columned building midway of the block. There was a double fence around the park, the outer one a hitching rack, with turnstiles to keep out wandering livestock, and the inner one a high board fence. All awnings were wood. The big building in the foreground housed several stores. Later a photograph gallery occupied the upper floors. The old oil street lamps, by this time, had been converted to gas, which became available in downtown Quincy in December, 1854. Douglas arrived in the city the night of Oct. 12, 1858, in a blaze of light from the gas street lamps as well as the torches carried by the paraders.

RIVALS' VIEWS — Although the face of the debate plaque here bears only the words "Lincoln-Douglas Debate, Quincy Oct. 13, 1858," the other side carried engraved quotations from the words of the two statesmen in Quincy as follows:

"Lincoln at Quincy: 'We have in this nation this element of domestic slavery. We think it is a wrong not confining itself merely to the persons or the states where it exists but that it is a wrong in its tendency to say the least that extends itself to the existence of the whole nation'.

"Douglas at Quincy: 'I hold that the people of the slave-holding states are civilized men as well as ourselves, that they have consciences as well as we, and that they are accountable to God and their posterity and not to us. It is for them to decide therefore the moral and religious right of the slavery question for themselves, within their own limits'."

The Seven Debates

The Beginning . . . at Ottawa Aug. 21

"I DESIRE to address myself to your judgment, your understanding, and your conscience, and not to your passions or your enthusiasm," Douglas told his audience at Ottawa as the first of the seven debates with Lincoln began. It was a purely rhetorical allegation. Stephen A. Douglas was one of the most effective stump speakers of his time and stump speaking was geared to passions and powered by enthusiasm.

Crowds all over the state had heard this speech, and Douglas would repeat it with few changes throughout the campaign, giving not an inch except in the case of a bit of misinformation.

Both Whig and Democratic parties approved the compromise measures of 1850, Douglas said, but oddly enough, when he introduced a bill in 1854 based on the principle built into those measures, trouble brewed. Abolitionists opposed his Nebraska bill, and Lincoln and Trumbull conspired to unite them, "under disguise of a Republican party." Each tried to abolitionize his own party.

To show what they were up to, he read three resolutions which he said were adopted in the platform of the Black Republican party in Illinois at that party's first state convention which was held in Springfield. The resolutions called for formation of a new party, restoration of Nebraska and Kansas as free territories, repeal or abrogation of the fugitive slave law, restricting slavery to the states in which it then existed, prohibiting the admission of any more slave states, abolishing slavery in Washington, D. C., excluding slavery from all territories, and resisting the acquisition of more territories unless slavery were forever prohibited in them.

* * *

DID LINCOLN stand pledged to these, Douglas asked, and promised that when he trotted Lincoln down into Egypt he could get an answer from him there.

Lincoln was a sectional man, a member of a sectional party, espousing sectional doctrines for the aggrandizement of his section, while Douglas and the Democrats were national.

He wanted it understood, however, that there was nothing personal in his personal attack on Mr. Lincoln ,who "is one of those peculiar men whe perform with admirable skill everything they undertake."

Of course Lincoln took the side of the enemy in the Mexican war, conspired with Trumbull and was double-crossed, and in his "house divided" speech expressed a doctrine "revolutionary and destructive of the existence of this government," Douglas said.

The Union can exist slave and free, for 12 of the original 13 states were slave-holding states, and uniformity of "local laws and institutions" was neither possible nor desirable.

Lincoln, Douglas said, opposes the Dred Scott decision and so wars against the supreme court.

"Are you in favor of conferring upon the Negro the rights and privileges of citizenship? Do you desire to strike out of our state constitution that clause which keeps slaves and free Negroes out of the state, and allow free Negroes to flow in and cover your state with black settlements? Do you desire to turn this beautiful state into a free Negro colony in order that when Missouri abolishes slavery she can send one hundred thousand emancipated slaves into Illinois to become citizens and voters, on an equality with yourselves? If you desire Negro citizenship, if you desire to allow them to come into this state and settle with the white man, if you desire them to vote on an equality with yourselves, and to make them eligible to office, to serve on juries, and to adjudge your rights, then support Mr. Lincoln and the Black Republican party, who are in favor of the citizenship of the Negro. For one, I am opposed to Negro citizenship in any and every form." And he repeated his belief in white supremacy, over Negroes, Indians and "other inferior races."

Douglas chose to battle not slavery but social equality. He vehemently denied that either God or the Declaration of Independence made the Negro his equal.

Not necessarily to be enslaved, the Negro was to be given "every right, every privilege, and every immunity consistent with the safety of the society in which he lives," he said. These rights and privileges are to be determined by each state

* * *

LINCOLN BEGAN his first speech of the debates with a barrage of denials: He had not conspired with Trumbull; had nothing to do with the resolutions Douglas had read; had not participated in the Springfield convention, and called upon Douglas to prove the allegations.

In reply to the charge that he was an abolitionist, Lincoln said he could not tolerate covert indifference to slavery. "I hate it," he said, "because of the monstrous injustice of slavery itself. I hate it because it deprives our republican example of its just influence in the world, enables the enemies of free institutions, with plausibility, to taunt us as hypocrites, causes the real friends of freedom to doubt our sincerity, and especially because it forces so many really good men amongst ourselves into an open war with the very fundamental principles of civil liberty — criticising the Declaration of Independence, and insisting that there is no right principle of action but self-interest."

This he quoted from his Peoria speech, in which he had also said: "When southern people tell us they are no more responsible for the origin of slavery, than we; I acknowledge the fact. When it is said that the institution exists, and that it is very difficult to get rid of it in any satisfactory way, I can understand and appreciate the saying. I surely will not blame them for not doing what I should not know how to do myself."

On first impulse he might favor immigration but practical considerations make it impossible, he said.

"What next?" Free them, and make them politically and socially, our equals? My own feelings will not admit of this; and if mine would, we well know that those of the great mass of white people will not. Whether this feeling accords with justice and sound judgment, is not the sole question, if indeed, it is any part of it. A universal feeling, whether well or ill-founded, can not be safely disregarded. We can not, then, make them equals. It does seem to me that systems of gradual emancipation might be adopted; but for their tardiness in this, I will not undertake to judge the South." He was in favor of supplying fugitive slave laws.

"But all this, to my judgment, furnishes no more excuse for permitting slavery to go into our own free territory, than it would for reviving the African slave trade by law. The law which forbids the bringing of slaves from Africa, and that which has so long forbade the taking them to Nebraska, can hardly be distinguished on any moral principle; and the repeal of the former could find quite as plausible excuses as that of the latter."

* * *

THIS STATES the whole of his position, he said, and to twist it into favoring "perfect social and political equality with the Negro is but a specious and fantastic arrangement of words, by which a man can prove a horse chestnut to be a chestnut horse."

The Negro may not be the equal of a white man in every respect, but in the right to eat the bread, without leave of anybody else, which his own hand earns, "he is my equal and the equal of Judge Douglas, and the equal of every living man!"

"Now I pass on to consider one or two more of these little follies," Lincoln quipped, relaxing.

No, he hadn't been a grocery (saloon) keeper as the Judge claimed, but "Lincoln did work the latter part of one winter in a little still-house, up at the head of a hollow." Against the start of the Mexican War, he consistently voted for appropriations he retorted. And if the Judge figures a house divided can stand, there is a question of veracity "not between him and me, but between the Judge and an authority of a somewhat higher character." Not against dead uniformity in local institutions, he is against the divisive institution, slavery, he claimed. It was on the way out until lately, when it was placed on a new basis aimed at "the perpetuity and nationalization" of it. We must put it back where Washington and Jefferson had it, he said.

When a man in the audience asked if Lincoln repudiated popular sovereignty, Lincoln replied: "My understanding is that popular sovereignty, as now applied to the question of slavery, does allow the people of a territory to have slavery if they want to, but does not allow them not to have it if they do not want it."

He chided Douglas for praising him in one breath and damning him in the next, replying to the allegations made by Douglas in Springfield July 17. As to popular sovereignty and the Nebraska bill, the Judge helped vote down an amendment which would have required submission of a constitution to the people. As to the Dred Scott decision, the Judge himself was bespattered with attacks upon judicial decisions, receiving his own appointment to the Illinois supreme court bench on just such ground. Another Dred Scott decision is all that keeps slavery out of the free states. The Judge is eradicating the light of reason and the love of liberty.

* * *

IN HIS REJOINDER, Douglas he asked again that Lincoln reply to his questions about the platform Douglas said was adopted by the Republican party in Illinois. It was adopted in Springfield in 1854 and he saw Lincoln there! He branded the conspiracy charge "an infamous lie," and said he voted down Chase's proposed amendment to the Nebraska bill because the bill itself gave the people "the whole power over the subject."

Referring to his set of resolutions, he charged the Republicans with being against letting slave states into the Union and thus opposing popular sovereignty. Only when the principle of popular sovereignty is recognized will there be peace, he said.

Questions . . . at Freeport Aug. 27

THE Freeport debate has generally been regarded as the most important of the seven because of the questions put and answered. It was Lincoln's first chance to open and close the argument.

Lincoln began by answering the Judge's questions, and proposed asking a few himself. He affirmed himself to be "bound as a party man by the platform of the party." However he did not favor unconditional repeal of the fugitive slave law, was not pledged against admission of more slave states or against entry into the Union of a state with whatever constitution the people saw fit to make, or in favor of abolition in the District of Columbia, or in favor of prohibiting the slave trade between states. "I am impliedly, if not expressly, pledged to a belief in the right and duty of congress to prohibit slavery in all the United States territories," he said.

As to the acquisition of territory, he would in any given case oppose or favor it on the basis of whether or not the slavery question would be aggravated thereby. Southern states are entitled to a fugitive slave law, he said, but changes should be made in the law then in force.

He would be happy to see slavery abolished from the District of Columbia but would favor it only if gradual, if favored by a majority of the voters there, and if unwilling owners would be compensated, he answered. Demurring from the question about the slave trade, he said he did not know enough about it to answer.

* * *

HIS QUESTIONS to Douglas: If Kansas asked to be admitted before it had the requisite number of inhabitants, would he vote to admit it? "Can the people of a United States territory, in any lawful way, against the wish of any citizen of the United States, exclude slavery from its limits prior to the formation of a state constitution?" Would he acquiesce in a supreme court decision decreeing that states can not exclude slavery from their limits? Did he favor acquiring additional territory no matter how the acquisition affected the nation on the slavery question?

Not only had he had nothing to do with the resolutions which Douglas said had been adopted in Springfield, but the resolutions had not been adopted there, were bogus, Lincoln asserted.

Douglas deplored Lincoln's conspiracy charge against men in high places, but had himself charged Buchanan and others with striking a fatal blow at popular sovereignty, said Lincoln.

* * *

THEN IT WAS the Little Giant's turn. He dodged the question about admitting Kansas without the requisite population if the people properly adopted a constitution and requested admission. He charged Trumbull with voting against admitting Oregon because it lacked the necessary population, asked Lincoln to answer the question himself, and said: "It is my opinion; that as she has population enough to constitute a slave state, she has people enough for a free state." Congress, he said, had already made an exception of Kansas and he would stand by it.

The second question was more heavily loaded, but Douglas did not hesitate. He said: "In my opinion the people of a territory can, by lawful means, exclude slavery from their limits prior to the formation of a state constitution . . . It matters not what way the supreme court may hereafter decide as to the abstract question whether slavery may or may not go into a territory under the Constitution, the people have the lawful means to introduce it or exclude it as they please, for the reason that slavery cannot exist a day or an hour anywhere, unless it is supported by local police regulations." (Thus the Dred Scott decision was virtually denied, and the South alienated.)

Again, and patiently, he explained the Nebraska bill amendment was an unnecessary ruse "to enable demagogues in the country to try and deceive the people."

To Lincoln's third question, he dodged again. Not even a school boy would ask such a question, casting an imputation on the supreme court. The attack with which Lincoln charged him was not made against the president but against the Washington Union. The thing he suggests in his question "is not possible," Douglas retorted.

The fourth question he said was "very ingeniously and cunningly put." But he answered clearly, that when it comes to acquiring territory he is in favor, "without reference to the question of slavery."

He told, then, of seeing, right there in Freeport, the Negro speaker Fred Douglass riding in a carriage with a white woman while the woman's daughter was on the box seat—and right out in front of everybody!

About the resolutions; he had been told they were passed at Springfield, but no matter. Lincoln makes much of the "spot," just as he opposed the Mexican war because "American blood was not shed on American soil in the 'right spot.' And now he cannot answer the questions I put to him at Ottawa because the resolutions were not adopted at the 'right spot' " He quoted from the State Register of Oct. 16, 1854, to show that the resolutions he had read were attributed to that convention in Springfield. But he promised to investigate further. He read other similar resolutions adopted by a Rockford convention.

He repeated the Trumbull-Lincoln charge, read resolutions suggested by Lovejoy, and others approved by Republican members of the legislature before Lincoln was nominated, and claimed they strapped Lincoln with the abolitionist load.

Quoting from the house divided speech, Douglas claimed Lincoln "is for making them (the states) all free, in order that the Union may exist." And, to the supreme court question: "Suppose I did make that charge of corruption against the Washington Union, when it was true, does that justify him in making a false charge against me and others?" Buchanan was in England and could not have engaged in the conspiracy; the Dred Scott decision was not before the supreme court when the Nebraska bill was passed; President Pierce is a man of integrity.

"This only proves what I have charged, that there is an alliance between Lincoln and his supporters and the federal office-holders of this state, and presidential aspirants out of it, to break me down at home."

* * *

IN REBUTTAL, Lincoln admitted that several of the positions taken in the sets of resolutions to which Douglas had referred were at variance with his own positions, but what united Republicans was their opposition to the Nebraska bill, and they all, in convention, adopted one platform, he said. On that platform the party stands and he said he was not about to "do anything not signified by our Republican platform."

Back he went to deny the charge of abolitionism Douglas kept pulling from the house divided speech, and repeated his answers to the questions Douglas said he had dodged.

Douglas did not make his charge against the editor of the Washington Union alone, as he claimed, said Lincoln. He quoted from a Douglas speech concerning the attacks on him by the Washington Union in which the word "authoritatively" appeared several times, and he asked: "By whose authority, Judge Douglas?" The Washington Union is the organ of the administration, said Lincoln, and by whose authority would they have printed their attacks against Douglas except by that of the president and his cabinet?

Douglas had himself indicated that his attack on the Washington Union involved others, Lincoln said. Several times he referred in speeches to the paper's charges against him as having been made "authoritatively." "By whose authority, Judge Douglas?" The Washington Union, said Lincoln, is the organ of the administration.

Douglas' physician father died with his infant son in his arms, and a chance visit by a neighbor saved the boy from death. As the neighbor opened the door of the Douglas home he saw the infant fall from his dying father's lap and roll toward an open fire in the fireplace. Quickly, the man reached the child before it touched the fire.

Trot to Egypt — Jonesboro Sept. 15

DOWN they went into "Egypt." The story was that somewhere around 1820 one Levi Day who lived in St. Clair county moved north to Sangamon county. Since spring came a little earlier to St. Clair than it did to Sangamon, Day, for several years, journeyed south to buy seed corn. When asked where he was going he would reply: "I'm going down to Egypt for corn."

Douglas had the two-shot advantage again at Jonesboro. He began by virtually repeating his Ottawa speech: Both Democrats and Whigs, while differing on several issues, agreed in supporting the compromise measures of 1850. Then came Trumbull and Lincoln to abolitionize the two parties, set North against South, on a platform which included applying the Wilmot proviso to all U. S. territories, no more slave states, repeal of the fugitive slave law, slavery abolished in the District of Columbia, the slave trade abolished between states. In the north, there were abolitionists, while in the middle they were anti-Nebraska and in the south they labored for a repeal of the Missouri compromise.

Again he told of seeing the Negro Fred Douglass in a carriage driven by the white owner, with the man's wife and daughter sitting in the carriage with the Negro! Douglass and his co-conspirators called themselves Republicans. In one place, Free Democrats in another. Co-conspirator Trumbull elected to the senate, although Lincoln was elected in Sangamon. Co-conspirator James B. Shepherd of Springfield alleged that Lincoln was double-crossed. Lincoln, he said, refused to join the newly created Republican party unless it promised to make him its senatorial candidate, said Douglas.

* * *

THERE FOLLOWED the inevitable quotation from Lincoln's house divided speech, and claim that Lincoln's proposition to the South was: "If you desire to maintain your institutions as they are now, you must not be satisfied with minding your own business. If you must invade Illinois and all the other northern states, establish slavery in them and make it universal." In the same language Lincoln says to the North: "You must be content with regulating your own affairs and minding your own business, but if you desire to maintain your freedom you must invade the southern states, abolish slavery there and everywhere, in order to have the states all one thing or all the other."

The government has stood slave and free from its organization, and the country grew to a population of thirty million, extended its territory to the Pacific, grew powerful and rich, but all, according to Lincoln, "in violation of the law of God."

Lincoln wars on the supreme court because it denied citizenship to the Negro and he believes in Negro equality. He, Douglas, knew what the Founding fathers intended: "They desired to express to that people, white men of European birth and European descent, and had no reference either to the Negro, the savage Indians, the Fejee, the Malay, or any other inferior and degraded race, when they spoke of the equality of men."

The signers were slave holders who did not emancipate their slaves, and failed to keep things that way, as Douglas himself was then fighting. The states themselves must decide what citizenship rights to be granted Negroes, as the Dred Scott decision declared. And when new territory is acquired — Cuba or Mexico or Canada — each must decide the slavery question in its own way. He opposed the Lecompton constitution because it was not the result of popular sovereignty, the act and deed of the people.

"Hence, the great mission of the Democracy is to unite the fraternal feeling of the whole country, restore peace and quiet by teaching each state to mind its own business, and regulate its own domestic affairs, and to unite convinced out the Constitution as our fathers made it, and thus to preserve the Union and maintain it perpetual in all time to come."

* * *

LINCOLN OPENED his debate in favor of popular sovereignty and denied and intention to interfere with the states in their domestic relations. Douglas is wrong, however, in saying his position is that of the founding fathers, said Lincoln, for they looked to the eventual extinction of slavery. The difference between Lincoln and Douglas is that Lincoln wants to return to the way of the fathers while Douglas would pursue a new course.

The alleged deal and double-cross involving Trumbull, Lincoln and Shepherd is denied. He remembered contradicting the Matteson charge when it was made.

Replying for the first time to Douglas' claim that the partisan measures of 1850, he said that those measures did not repeal the ancient Missouri compromise which divided slavery along the 36-30 line, this was Douglas' bill, the Judge. Why did he change it? Lincoln asked. Everything was fair until then.

He repeated his contention that his position did not involve crusading against the South, but doing something about slavery. The Dred Scott decision divides the states — made more divisive by the effort to extend it.

Douglas' concentration game started by the Judge, Lincoln produced several adopted by Democratic conventions. One of them favored them. Thompson Campbell, the friend of the Negro, proposed abolishing slavery in the District of Columbia, the prohibition of slavery in the territories, the admission of any state with or without slavery, the fugitive slave law, the election of a speaker of the house who would organize committees so as to give free states their just influence, and the duty of congress to prohibit the slave trade between the states.

In the last instance, Campbell had stated, said Lincoln, that "so long as the slave states continue to hold slaves as articles of commerce, Constitution confers power on congress to pass laws regulating that peculiar commerce, and that the protection of human rights imperatively demands the interposition of every constitutional means to prevent this most inhuman and iniquitous traffic." On this platform, Campbell, a Democrat, was elected, said Lincoln.

H. S. Molony was nominated for congress at Joliet by a Democratic convention. He was elected on a resolution opposing the extension of slavery, and Molony then declared that slavery was a mere position as Campbell had taken in regard to Douglas' position.

Lincoln told of resolutions of similar nature, adopted at Bloomington, Peoria, Springfield, a Democratic editor in De Kalb county, Chicago, Kane, a supporter of Douglas, who editorialized in favor of equality, with rights of citizenship, voting, work, and office holding. "With us worth makes the man, and wrest the law, if you can, that have seen many a 'nigger', that we thought more of than some white men."

But still, through, Lincoln told of resolutions, adopted by a Democratic state convention in Vermont, similarly obnoxious to the Judge.

* * *

THEN HE TURNED to the Douglas answers to the questions he asked at Freeport. He understood Douglas to answer the question about admitting Kansas without the requisite population to form a state and admitting it anyway, and thereby in opposition to the Engish bill, which provided for admitting, including slavery from a territory prior to the formation of a constitution, he understood Douglas to answer that it can be done.

Then he said, however, however, declares that such prohibition is unconstitutional, said Lincoln. In 1858 Douglas said to the senate that the question was for the supreme court to decide. He answer to the question, Now he says it is a question for the people, not the court, to decide.

Moreover, the condition that slavery cannot enter a new country without police protection is historically erroneous, said Lincoln. "And if the right to property in slaves is inherent in the Constitution, are not those who support the Constitution constrained to provide whatever police may be needed to protect that right? Is not congress itself under this obligation? On just this basis the fugitive slave law was enacted and is enforced.

* * *

HENCE QUESTION No. 1 to Douglas: "If slavery slave-holding citizens of a United States territory should demand congressional legislation for the protection of their slave property in such territory, would Illinois, a member of congress, vote for or against such legislation?"

Now, how should Douglas telling an audience at Joliet, after the Freeport debate, that Lincoln had to be carried from the platform at Ottawa, he was so overcome by the Judge's speech? Was he down to Egypt? Douglas told his audience Lincoln was laid up seven days!, said Lincoln. The facts were it was all locularly put — he spoke on Friday and Saturday, and he didn't even bother to drag the carpet-bag out of the hall. He said: "Let the Judge go on, and after he is done with his half hour, I want you all to let me have myself, to let me stay and rot here."

Afraid of being trotted down into Egypt? "Well, I know this people better than to think they have raised just a little east of here. I am a part of this people."

He was just being playful about the Ottawa matter, Douglas replied.

He had questioned Lincoln on the basis of several sets of Republican resolutions to determine whether or not he stood on the Republican platform. Lincoln's answer to the questions, showing more slave states, if adopted, repealed that he does not answer the question. He would vote to admit a slave state if congress had kept slavery out of the territory and the people of the territory then voted a slave constitution. But such a condition does not apply to any territories, said Douglas. Lincoln is not willing to be responsible for the crime of his party.

Campbell made the statements referred to in reference to a deal between Lincoln and other of his statements, and Douglas had denounced him and declared him to be a traitor. Chicago, Douglas singlehandedly vindicated Democratic supremacy in 1850, and led the city council to reverse itself, repealing nullifying resolutions, and declaring for the laws of the land, he said.

Other Republicans are campaigning on a no-more-slave-states plank, why isn't Lincoln? The Republican party is not divided.

Of Lincoln's being praised in parts by Douglas had a friend, "I do not know that a native of Kentucky is more excusable because of his ancestors, his father and mother having owned slaves, he comes to Illinois, turns abolitionist, and abuses the graves of his father and mother, and vilifies everyone who the institutions under which he was born, and his father and mother lived."

In answer to Lincoln's latest question, he said: "I emphasized an article in the Democratic creed that there should be noninterference or prevention by the congress with slavery in the states or territories." Lincoln then was answered the question, nor the other about admitting Kansas without 93,420 inhabitants.

Lincoln opposes supreme court decisions, he does not like, but the decisions of the court are nevertheless final. In the Dred Scott case the court decided, also that "you cannot maintain slavery a day in a territory where there is no people, no people and unfriendly legislation."

(Continued on Next Page.)

Side Issues in 1858

AT Charleston Lincoln opened the game by telling of a question asked him by an elderly man who had come to hear Douglas. The man wanted to know if Lincoln was opposed to and in favor of giving a perfect equality between Negroes and white people.

Lincoln said he gave it understood that he was not: that he was not in favor of giving political equality, or intermarriage. There is a physical difference between the two races, he said, which forbids such equality impossible.

Since the Judge feels so apprehensive about the possibility of equality being imposed upon him, Lincoln said he would propose to congress, has the right, according to the Judge, to do something about it "I propose as the best means to prevent it, that the Judge be kept home and he be made a member of the state legislature."

The rest of his speech Lincoln devoted to what appeared to be a side issue. When the Kansas-Nebraska bill was finally brought out by the committee on territories, Douglas, the Judge, had inserted which expressly provided that the constitution for Kansas be submitted to the people after the population had been stricken. Trumbull and others opposed it, he said, the striking and to deny the people the right to vote on it, said Douglas. Trumbull and "Trumbull" made dence foreign. Lincoln reviewed the Trumbull, Lincoln and Shepherd counterchargers, and then asked why the Judge had removed the clause, if it was so important to Douglas' constantly reiterated claim of devotion to popular sovereignty.

Douglas retorted "I had supposed that we assembled here to-day for the purpose of a joint discussion between Mr. Lincoln and myself upon the political questions that now agitate the public mind. I had hoped he would ask you what questions of public policy relating to the welfare of this state he desired Illinois has Mr. Lincoln discussed before you?" And someone in the audience obligingly answered: "None, none."

"I thought I didn't make his charges at the time of the alleged deal, and he said he thought the present campaign was under way, and "finding that I was showing up the worst abolitionism and Negro equality doctrines, that I was driving Lincoln to the wall, and white men would not support his rank abolitionism, he sought to drive the East and trumped up a system of charges against me."

The answer to the Trumbull-Lincoln charges? "I have lived in Illinois 25 years, and but that time have been in public life, and I have never had a single vote. If that record is not enough to vindicate me from these petty, malicious charges, I cannot hope to be elected to office by slandering my opponents and traducing other men."

Answering anyway, he said that "if it was a question of voting for the Toombs bill, never expressly called upon to vote for a territory would "demand and compel a popular vote on the question of slavery in Nebraska." So he and his committee took it for granted that the constitution would be submitted to the people.

I ask you to reflect on these things, for I tell you that there is a conspiracy here to deny this election for the Black Republicans by slander, and not by fair means. Mr. Lincoln's friends are in a conclusive evidence of the fact."

Douglas charged that Lincoln was removed from the Toombs bill never was in it! And Douglas, the Judge, inserted it. Judge. Trumbull falsified public records to make the charge stick!

Douglas had proved Lincoln mistaken about the emigration that poured into Kansas and others through the Nebraska bill and the Dred Scott decision, the abolitionists and perpetuate slavery, but he made a mistake, Douglas said, in take, as Douglas had acknowledged his mistake about the multiplied resolutions.

It is all a part of an effort to misrepresent his opinions on personal matters, said Douglas.

He told of his agreement with Oldham, Lincoln's Democratic on the slavery question, while differing from them on other matters. Then he reviewed again the history of the 1850 compromise measures, which he claimed secured victory on behalf of popular sovereignty and defeated the abolitionists' efforts to upset the apple cart. Hardly were the grand old Whigs buried than the abolitionists began violating their graves. Trumbull and Lincoln led the desecrators in Illinois. They were joined by the Negro Fred Douglass. Then came the Trumbull double-cross of Lincoln, attested by Matheny, Lincoln's confidential friend.

When Lincoln was nominated, many Black Republicans were surprised and disgusted, Douglas said. Others expected to receive the nomination but Lincoln's supporters would not co-operate until

The Reporters of '58 Had a Tough Job

DIPTY the poor reporter of 1858, — for partisan as he was, his plight was unenviable. His paper's hero had to be his hero, forever the victim while the crisis of the day demanded verbatim reporting.

At best a hit-or-miss affair, with no guarantees for accuracy, or accidentals as accuracy and veracity, and in no hurry about it either, reporting in 1858 had suddenly to come of age.

Before he had a chance to kick the business end of his pencil, the reporter found that he was looking over his shoulder, jostling against his writing arm, and expecting to be called upon to wanted to hear and what really happened.

Perhaps it was the fault of what someone had exaggeratedly called "Phonographic Reporting." It was made it possible, by shorthand to transcribe a speech verbatim, almost.

"Time was when a reporter could listen to what was said, make a note or two, go back to his desk and gleefully make the fellow who whatever he very well wanted him to say. Sometimes the fellow would be a cracked skull or a little spilled blood, but by and large it got by, and the fellow who was reporting for the Illinois congressional campaign of 1858 were shamelessly twisted and garbled. But the phonographic reporters were at work. For the first time in a state campaign correspondents accompanied the campaigners, and there was the pressure on local news staffs, which most often consisted of the editor, a printer and perhaps a reporter. It was not uncommon for one man to be all three. It wasn't the only trouble.

Nobody world had yet to take the Fourth Estate very seriously, and inadequate provisions were made for its comfort.

Debates were held in the open air on rude platforms, with little or no accommodation for writing—often there was not even a table—and the reporter had to stand or sit in the jostling crowd, puffs of powder blowing from the flashes of paper, rain liable to reduce his carefully written notes to unread pulp.

Speaking for all their long-suffering reporters, the editors of Tribune and Tribune on Aug. 5, 1858, published an appeal to the committee arrangements. It said in part:

"In behalf of ourselves and such other representatives of the press as may be represented, may we request that arrangements be made for at least 6 reporters—that a table be provided for them, placed where they will not be exposed to the weather, in the people on the platform and where there will be no room for persons to come between the reporters and the speakers—and that somebody with authority and physical strength enough to secure obedience be appointed to keep loafers out of the reporter's corner. These things are absolutely essential to the success of the reports." They were so right!

Six Issues . . . Clear Cut

(Continued From Preceding Page.)

their man got the nomination. So Trumbull is compelled to get up false charges. Negro speakers take the stump for Lincoln, and everybody keeps quiet about the deal.

"They have entered into a conspiracy to break me down by these assaults on my public character, in order to draw my attention from a fair exposure of the mode in which they have attempted to nullionize the old Whig and the old Democratic parties and lead them captive into the abolition camp."

But the pot whole thing, again adding the charge that they kept changing their name to fit the location, and inviting them to compare Lincoln's speeches in the camp of Douglas, one thing north and another south, Douglas charged.

"Mr. Lincoln is against the Dred Scott decision, and must therefore be in favor of "conferring the right and privilege of citizenship upon the Negro. I think I understand that Douglas believed to this to be a white government in which there must be no effect of citizenship and were incapable of self-government.

Lincoln retaliated by denying he favored Negro citizenship, and saying the Supreme Court decision court had decided that the states declared the power to make a Negro a citizen, while he held the opposite opinion, he would not favor extending the Negro suffrage.

"I dare him to point out any differences between my printed speeches north and south," Lincoln declared. He repeated his answer to the house divided charge, noting continued agitation on the slavery question in spite of end-all measures, and saying that only by returning to the ways of the fathers could it all straighten out, and thought it might.

He stood squarely behind the veracity of Trumbull, and reminded that Douglas early in the campaign had dragged out the old charge that Lincoln had been unpatriotic during the Mexican war.

By not answering the specific charges made by Trumbull, Douglas is "playing curtious," said Lincoln—"a small species of folly that has no mode of defending itself when pursued except by throwing out a black fluid which makes the water so dark the enemy cannot see it and thus it escapes."

Douglas, said Lincoln, keeps dodging the question raised by Trumbull about the chopped-out provision in the Toombs bill, and said, "I suggest to him it will not avail him at all that he swells himself up like an dignity, and calls people liars."

and Lincoln's claim that it means carrying slavery into free states. Douglas had two things to say: The decision would do no such thing, and Lincoln's claim that it would was an attack upon the supreme court, aimed at bringing the court into disrepute.

"He is going to appeal from the supreme court of the United States to every town meeting in the hope that he can excite a prejudice against the court, and on the wave of that prejudice ride into the senate of the United States, when he could not get there on his merits principle, he his own merits."

Jackson did not oppose the supreme court in the National Bank case, he merely refused to do something which he could have done, which was constitutional to do, because he did not think it expedient or proper. "I stand by the Constitution as our fathers made it, and I intend to do the court upon all points within their jurisdiction as they are pronounced by the highest tribunal on earth and any man who resists these must resort to mob law and violence to overturn the government of laws."

On Campus . . . at Galesburg Oct. 7

SPEAKING into a chill wind on a platform erected on the east side of a Knox college building in Galesburg. Douglas rembled his audience of his presence among them after passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill, and his vindication of the principle supporting it and the compromise measures of 1850—namely, popular sovereignty.

He fought the attempt to force Kansas into the Union under the Lecompton constitution, he said. He fought the English bill which offered to admit Kansas as she was if the people approved that constitution with amendments in for those who fought against it, but delaying admission until the requisite population was achieved, if the constitution was voted down.

If Kansas should decide not to constitute a slave state, she had enough to constitute a free state, Douglas declared. It is her right to choose to be slave or free, and she should be received on the same basis, in either case. But certain postmasters and other federal office holders making a test oath of the English bill, were making speeches in favor of the election of Lincoln, while English himself has abandoned his plan. Lincoln is making the most of it, Douglas added.

"What do you Republicans think of a political organization that will try to make an unholy and unnatural combination with its professed foes to beat a man merely because he has declared that it is "Shame on it," a willing hearer responded.

The Republican party appeals to the North against the South, to "northern passion, northern pride, northern ambition, and northern prejudices, against southern people, the southern states and southern institutions."

* * *

QUOTING FROM Lincoln's Chicago speech in which he asked where the making of exceptions to the Declaration of Independence would stop, if the exception of the Negro is allowed, Douglas said this meant wiping out all racial distinctions. Then he quoted from the Chicago speech Lincoln's elegiac plea that we "discard all this quibbling about this man and the other race—this race, and that other race being inferior." That was in Chicago. In Charleston, however, Lincoln denied being in favor of racial equality, said he believed there is a physical difference between the races, and the white race is superior.

"I tell you plainly, this Chicago doctrine of Lincoln's — declaring that the Negro and the white man are made equal by the Declaration of Independence and by Divine Providence—is a monstrous heresy." The slaveholding founders remained slaveholders, he said.

Lincoln cannot understand how the Dred Scott decision can be squared with popular sovereignty. Judge Taney has said that a Negro is property and stands on a par with all other property. Suppose someone was to take into Kansas $100,000 worth of other merchandise, including liquor. The Dred Scott decision says you have a right to take this property into Kansas. But once there, local law, take effect and an antislavery law, or unfriendly slavery legislation may make it impossible for either to keep his property. Without friendly supporting legislation no property can actually be taken to any state or territory, for it is the people who must decide.

Lincoln has said a house divided cannot stand, but if his doctrine had stood in the beginning all the republic would have had to be dissolved. The answer is to continue the division as it was in the beginning.

* * *

TAKING UP the Judge's claim about Jefferson and the other founding fathers excluding the Negro from the Declaration of Independence, Lincoln shot back: "I believe the entire records of the country from the date of the Declaration of Independence up to within three years ago, may be searched in vain for one single affirmation, from one single man, that the Negro was not included in the Declaration of Independence. I think I may defy Judge Douglas to produce the first one, and that Washington ever said so, that any president ever said so, that any congress ever said so, and that or that any living man upon the earth ever said so, until the exigencies of the present policy of the Democratic party, in regard to slavery, did lead to that affirmation." Jefferson, speaking of slavery, said "I tremble for my country when he remembered that God was just."

The Judge's party has also done some name juggling, and last Saturday in Springfield, "Taxwell" the Judge spoke, "not venturing to use the word 'Democrat,' " in the Republican parlance, said Douglas.

There is no inconsistency in his speeches, north and south, Lincoln claimed. "But the Judge will have it that if we do not confess that there is a great inequality between the white and black races, which justifies us in making them slaves, we must, then, insist that there is a degree of equality that would justify us in making them our wives."

The equality Lincoln has proclaimed has been of "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness," not perfect social and political equality, he said. The question is with referring to "new countries," where it is a moral not a practical question. "It is a party cannot be a rightful party if it cannot carry out its principles everywhere, why is it that Douglas could not transplant our national democracy in monarchistic Russia. "Judge Douglas has sprung from the platform of principles to the fact that he can find people who profess to be not allow us to announce those principles."

* * *

REGARDING the Nebraska bill and the compromise measures of 1850, Lincoln said there was nothing of the former in the latter. Under the compromise measures New Mexico and Utah were to come into the Union slave or free, as they decided, and nothing was said about slavery during their territorial status. The old Mexican laws which excluded slavery were to remain. No general principle was established in their cases. It was a patch-work deal, one intended to offset another part. Involved was the admission of California as a free state, the settlement of the boundary of Texas, the abolition of the slave trade in the District of Columbia and the passage of a new fugitive slave law.

Douglas charges the Republicans with making odious distinctions between slave and free states, while he fails to distinguish between slavery and freedom, and sees no wrong in slavery, said Lincoln. Regarding slavery as wrong, Lincoln desires "a policy that looks to the prevention of it as a wrong, and looking toward the time when as a wrong it may be spoken to an end," he said.

The split in the Democratic party between Douglas and Buchanan while a chasm, gave to Republicans — as the Fillmore-Fremont Republican split was welcome to the Democrats two years before—was their own doing.

The Judge has not announced the result of his investigation into the Ottawa resolutions mistake he made, Lincoln continued. "A fraud was an absolute forgery was committed, and if the perpetrator of it was traced to the three—Lanphier, Harris and Douglas. Whether it can be narrowed any way so as to exonerate any one of them, is what Judge Douglas' report would probably show."

The fraud worked, and the party was deceived to use it. "As the fisherman's wife woke her husband from his sleep to go home with his body full of eels said when she was asked, "What is the matter?" "Why, I have all the eels out and set him again."

A Freeport question was asked Douglas: "If the supreme court of the United States shall decide that a state may exclude slaves brought from their limits, are you in favor of abiding by, and supporting the following such decision, as a rule of political action?" His answer was "Abiding by and supporting at the very thought.

Lincoln quoted from the sixth article of the Constitution wherein it states that the Constitution, the laws of the United States, and all treaties made under the authority of the United States shall be the supreme law of the land, "and the judges in every state shall be bound thereby, anything in the constitution or laws of any state to the contrary notwithstanding."

Then he quoted from the Dred Scott decision: "The right of property in a slave is distinctly and expressly affirmed in the Constitution."

"Put together syllogistically, these assertions amount to this: "The right of property in a slave is distinctly and expressly affirmed in the Constitution of the United States; therefore nothing in the constitution or laws of any state can destroy the right of property in a slave."

* * *

THE FAULT in this is not the reasoning but in the premises, said Lincoln, for the right of property in a slave is not distinctly and expressly affirmed in the Constitution. But Judge Douglas and the supreme court do not see it this way: they take it for granted the syllogism, and if sustained at the next Dred Scott decision, in a new Dred Scott decision, against the right of the states to exclude slavery.

He pointed out to the Judge that Jackson, Jefferson and Douglas himself had not stood on "the political obligation of a supreme court decision," but Douglas is quiet about this, said Lincoln. Douglas will submit to accepting the decision, right or wrong, and thereby prepares the public mind to accept the next decision without question or inquiry.

Now suppose the national expansion the Judge talks about comes to pass, and the United States acquires Mexico, South America, the adjoining islands, and the question of slavery is left to each, as he suggests, won't this be a bother to him? In Mexico, for instance, "I understand that there is not more than one person out there out of eight who is pure white . . . which would bring him somewhat into collision with his horror of an inferior race."

Should not the people be wary of this territory-acquisition policy? It is a power not under control of the house of representatives but of the president and the senate. In the case of Mexican territory the people prohibited slavery be forever prohibited in it, but it was acquired with no such prohibition, in spite of the house of representatives. Douglas has said he favors acquiring territory in disregard of the slavery question; a dangerous policy indeed.

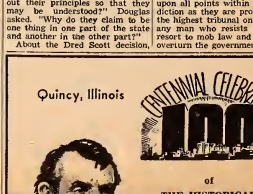
LINCOLN MAKES one speech north and another south, Douglas shot back; he is an abolitionist in the north but a white supremist in the south. He talks about going into Russia and teaching democracy, but Russia is not under the Constitution of the United States.

"If Russia was a part of the American republic, under our federal Constitution, and I was bound to support that Constitution, I would maintain the same doctrine in Russia that I do in Illinois," said Douglas.

Lincoln, in talking about the resolutions Douglas quoted at Ottawa, used such words as fraud, forgery and conspiracy, while not denying that similar resolutions were adopted by Democrats all over the state. Lincoln opposing them as he opposed the Mexican war, but not taking part of the right spot. Douglas claimed he had admitted the mistake, which was an honest one, but Lincoln keeps pressing, "inviting personal quarrels."

Lincoln is not willing to stand by the resolutions which other Republicans are supporting. "Why cannot Abraham Lincoln, and the party to which he acts, speak out their principles so that they may be understood?" Douglas asked. "Why do they claim to be one thing in one part of the state and another in the other part?"

About the Dred Scott decision,



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They Were Here...at Quincy Oct. 13

(The Debate We Commemorate)

* * * * * *

RESOLUTIONS were adopted by Republicans in convention in Illinois in May, 1856, in June that year, in June, 1858, and up to Oct. 13 not "one of our adversaries has taken hold of our platforms or laid his finger upon anything that he calls wrong in them," Lincoln told his Quincy audience in the opening speech of the debate here whose centennial we are marking.

Douglas is as responsible for the resolutions adopted by other Democrats as Lincoln is for those adopted by Republicans, said Lincoln, but Douglas will not admit it. Douglas charges Lincoln with responsibility for the bogus resolutions ascribed to a Springfield convention, with double-dealing, teaching one doctrine north and another south, but none of it is true. Lincoln quoted from his Charleston speech to prove his point.

Both north and south he had held that the Negro, while not then eligible for social and political equality, was nevertheless not to be denied the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. And even if not intellectually or morally equal, "in the right to eat the bread without leave of anybody else, which his own hand earns, he is my equal and the equal of Judge Douglas, and the equal of every other man."

Holding a copy of the Dred Scott decision, Lincoln asked again if Douglas would sustain a supreme court decision declaring that the states had no power to exclude slavery from their limits. Lincoln challenged the Judge to point out where in the decision any of the assenting judges said the contrary.

About the charges of forgery which so exasperated the Judge, Lincoln would remind him that "in this political canvass . . . I was not the first who dared to say forgery." At Jacksonville the Judge dared to say Trumbull had forged his evidence, and that Lincoln was to be held responsible. The hurling of charges was started by Douglas at Bloomington, Lincoln said, "and when he quits, I probably will."

* * *

WE HAVE a slavery problem, at the bottom of which is the fact that some think it wrong and some do not. Those who think it wrong seek to retard and reverse its spread, though not to disturb it where it exists, with the possible exception of the District of Columbia. They also oppose the Dred Scott decision, but do not propose that "when Dred Scott has been decided to be a slave by the court, we, as a mob, will decide him to be free." They oppose the decision as a binding political rule. "We propose so resisting it as to have it reversed if we can, and a new judicial rule established upon this subject." Those who do not agree in this do not belong in the Republican party, said Lincoln.

"This, gentlemen, as well as I can give it, is a plain statement of our principles in all their enormity."

The Democratic policy holds contrary to this one, and its leading man, Judge Douglas, never says slavery is wrong. To a possible Democratic demurrer: "You say it is wrong; but don't you constantly object to anybody else saying so? Do you not constantly argue that this is not the right place to oppose it? You say it must not be opposed in the free states, because slavery is not here; it must not be opposed in the slave states because it is there; it must not be opposed in politics, because that will make a fuss; it must not be opposed in the pulpit, because it is not religion. Then where is the place to oppose it?"

"When Judge Douglas says that whoever, or whatever community, wants slaves, they have a right to have them, he is perfectly logical if there is nothing wrong in the institution; but if you admit that it is wrong, he cannot logically say that anybody has a right to do wrong. When he says that slave property and horse and hog property are alike to be allowed to go into the territories, upon the principles of equality, he is reasoning truly, if there is no difference between them as property. . . ."

"I am not, just here, trying to prove that we are right and they are wrong. I have been stating where we and they stand, and trying to show what is the real difference between us; and I now

DOUGLAS' FIRST QUINCY HOME—This is the old gray brick house at the northwest corner of Third and Jersey, razed recently, believed to have been the first home of Stephen A. Douglas in Quincy. This building, known then as the Brigham House, one of many rooming houses in early Quincy, located near the heart of the frontier city, was a small hotel. Douglas, then unmarried, lived here when he first came to Quincy Feb. 27, 1841, as judge of the circuit court in the large Fifth circuit and member of the state supreme court.

say that whenever we can get the question distinctly stated — can get all these men who believe that slavery is in some of these respects wrong, to stand and act with us in treating it as a wrong—then, and not till then, I think we will in some way come to an end of this slavery agitation."

* * *

IT WAS TIME for the Little Giant. He began: "I regret that Mr. Lincoln should have deemed it proper to indulge in gross personalities and base insinuations in regard to the Springfield resolutions."

Douglas had seen a Republican platform adopted in Aurora published as purporting to be the platform of the Republican party, he said. It declared the party pledged to admit no more slave states, to prohibit slavery in the territories, to repeal the fugitive slave law, abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, and prohibit the slave trade between states. Similar resolutions were adopted by other conventions of Republicans. He had attributed them to the Springfield convention because Lanphier had sent him a copy of his newspaper in which they were so attributed. He used them in good faith—no trick or fraud. Lincoln quibbles about "the spot" in which they were adopted.

"And I will tell him, too, that it will not do to charge a forgery on Charles H. Lanphier or Thomas L. Harris. No man on earth, who knows them, and knows Lincoln, would take his oath against their word. . . : Any man who attempts to make such charges as Mr. Lincoln has indulged in against them, only proclaims himself a slanderer."

Lincoln refused to back down from the charge of conspiracy he made against Douglas, and President Buchanan, and Chief Justice Taney, and President Pierce involving the Nebraska bill and the Dred Scott decision, said Douglas, although Douglas had proved Buchanan was not in the country at the time of the alleged conspiracy and the Dred Scott case was not before the court when the Nebraska bill was before congress.

Instead of admitting he was wrong, Lincoln countered with another false charge, saying that there was an understanding with the Democratic owners of Dred Scott that the case would be taken up, Douglas continued. But Scott's owners were not Democrats. The Rev. Dr. Chaffe, whose wife was the legal owner, was an abolitionist member of congress, a friend of Lincoln's, and the defense lawyers in the case were abolitionists.

Here is the difference, he said, between Douglas and Lincoln: "When I make a mistake, as an honest man, I correct it without being asked to do so, but when he makes a false charge he sticks to it, and never corrects it."

The resolutions were quoted at Ottawa in order to see if Lincoln stood on the same platform but "to this day" he has answered only a part of them.

At Freeport Lincoln attempted an answer to one of the Ottawa questions asked by Douglas, but it posed a theoretical situation in which slavery had first been kept out of a territory before admission as a state. "The point I wish to answer is this: Suppose congress should not prohibit slavery in the territory, and it applied for admission with a constitution recognizing slavery, then how would he vote?"

"I ask you again, Lincoln, will you vote to admit New Mexico when she has the requisite population, with such a constitution as her people adopt, either recognizing slavery or not as they shall determine? He will not answer." He dodges the issue said Douglas, concealing his purposes, because his answer would not fit north as well as south in Illinois.

* * *

TURNING TO LINCOLN'S denial of preaching abolitionism north and white supremacy in the south, Douglas quoted again from Lincoln's Chicago and Charleston speeches, the same portions to which he had alluded several times during the debates. They convict Lincoln, Douglas said, of double-dealing, and reveal the sectional nature of his party.

Lincoln denies any intent to disturb slavery where it exists, but he is actually fomenting sectional war. "How can he extinguish it in Kentucky, in Virginia, in all the slave states by his policy, if he will not pursue a policy which will interfere with it in the states where it exists?"

He quoted from the house divided speech, and said that to unite the house Lincoln would limit slavery to the states in which it then existed. Before long the Negroes "will be so plenty that they cannot live on the soil. He will hem them in until starvation seizes them, and by starving them to death, he will put slavery in the course of ultimate extinction." He will extinguish slavery by extinguishing the Negro race.

The question of the rightness or wrongness of slavery Douglas refused to argue because each state has the right to decide this for itself. Lincoln talks about questions "that he has no power to act upon." States must decide the rightness of slavery for themselves, and supreme court decisions are final — there is no appeal.

"When I used to practice law with Lincoln, I never knew him to be beat in a case that he did not get mad at the judge and talk about appealing; and when I got beat I generally thought the court was wrong, but I never dreamed of going out of the court house and making a stump speech to the people against the judge, merely because I had found out that I did not know the law as well as he did."

"He who attempts to stir up odium and rebellion in the country against the constituted authorities is stimulating the passions of men to resort to violence and to mobs instead of to the law. Hence, I tell you that I take the decisions of the supreme court as the law of the land, and I intend to obey them as such." Therefore, Douglas said, he refuses still to answer Lincoln's question about an impossible supreme court decision.

The Dred Scott decision, he said, answering a question from the crowd, merely affirmed what state courts had decided many times over. Lincoln just doesn't understand the Dred Scott decision. That decision affirmed that a man can take any property he owns, slaves, whisky or dry goods, into a territory, but that once there, it takes friendly local laws if the owner is to hold on to his property.

To Lincoln's question about the obligation to provide a slave code, if the premise is allowed that the Constitution protects the right of property in slaves, Douglas replied that "a fundamental article in the Democratic creed, as put forth in the Nebraska bill and the Cincinnati (Democratic) platform, was nonintervention by congress with slavery in the states and territories, and hence, that I would not vote in congress for any code of laws either for or against slavery in any territory."

The Washington Union charged that he was no Democrat, said

'When He Has Time to Reflect'

Lincoln's first law partner, John T. Stuart, who beat Douglas in the latter's first bid for elective office, in 1838, backed him in the 1858 senatorial campaign, and wrote an apt description of Old Abe for use in Lincoln's 1860 presidential campaign:

"There are no striking points in his history. Growth was steady, gradual and constant. L not so ready or ingenious as Douglas—first impressions not reliable — when he has time to reflect is a very safe man. Better at defending and improving existing systems than in originating. Does not believe in reforming so much as perfecting. I believe if elected Pres. he will have a purer administration than there has ever been in our country. Mind of a metaphysical and philosophical order. His knowledge of the languages is limited but in other aspects I consider (him) a man of very general and varied knowledge. Has made Geology and other sciences a special study. Has an inventive facutly. Is always studying into the nature of things. Oldest by 17. Wife is a woman of fine intellect very ambitious. Sincerity his forte before a jury—excels in whatever requires close reasoning."

Douglas, because he espoused popular sovereignty in the debates of 1850 on the compromise measures, and in 1854 on the Kansas-Nebraska bill. But President Buchanan himself, whose organ the Washington Union was said to be, had publicly taken the same position. Douglas quoted from the Union and from a Buchanan speech to support his contention.

* * *

FOR THE FIRST time in the debates Douglas wrestled with the world "moral."

"I do not discuss the morals of the people of Missouri, but let them settle that matter for themselves. I hold that the people of the slaveholding states are civilized men as well as ourselves, that they bear consciences as well as we, and that they are accountable to God and their posterity and not to us."

Leaving it at this, in the hands of the states, the country can grow and prosper; "filling up our prairies, clearing our wildernesses and building cities, towns, railroads and other internal improvements, and thus make this the asylum of the oppressed of the whole earth. We have this great mission to perform, and it can only be performed by adhering faithfully to that principle of self-government on which our institutions were all established."

Douglas could also quote scripture. Instead of Lincoln telling the people of Kentucky they were living in a state of iniquity, "cherishing an institution to their bosoms in violation of the law of God," let him adopt the doctrine of 'judge not lest ye be judged'."

He closed with a tribute to the audience, thanking them "for the kindness and the courtesy with which you have listened to me. It is something remarkable that in an audience as vast as this, composed of men of opposite politics and views, with their passions highly excited, there should be so much courtesy, kindness and respect exhibited not only towards one another, but towards the speakers, and I feel that it is due to you that I should thus express my gratitude for the kindness with which you have treated me."

* * *

LINCOLN THANKED Douglas for asserting his expectation that slavery would last forever, but denied again that the fathers expected it to. They did not bring slavery in, nor approve of it, but just did not know how to get rid of it. They did abolish the slave trade, prohibited slavery in the territories, and trusted it would eventually disappear. Douglas would not leave it on that basis, but put it instead on "the cotton gin basis."

He denied any intention of interfering with the internal affairs of Kentucky or Virginia and refused to enter into Douglas' dif-

(Continued on Next Page.)

They Were Here

(Continued From Preceding Page.)

ficulties within the Democratic party.

But in the case of the Dred Scott decision, Lincoln pointed out that Douglas had not answered his question, and was after all guilty of the very thing with which he charged Lincoln. His party had found a way to reverse the high court's decision in the national bank case, and a way to get around a decision by the Illinois court that a governor did not have the right to remove a secretary of state. Douglas made speeches calling the decision villainous and stating that it ought to be overthrown, Lincoln claimed.

"I know no man in the state of Illinois who ought to know so well about how much villainy it takes to oppose a decision of the supreme court, as our honorable friend, Stephen A. Douglas."

General Jackson once said each man is bound to support the Constitution, "as he understood it." This means not that Democrats are bound by the Dred Scott decision while Republicans can ignore it. It means each must support it as he understands it.

Looking one of the audience in the eye, Lincoln asked him to imagine himself a member of a territorial legislature, believing as Douglas did in the right of property in slaves as a constitutional right. Sworn to uphold the constitution, it would be perjury to withhold legislation designed to protect that constitutional right, Lincoln said. To pass unfriendly laws would be to nullify the constitutional right.

"The truth about the matter is this: Judge Douglas has sung psalms to his 'popular sovereignty' doctrine until his supreme court co-operating with him has squatted his squatter sovereignty out."

"Has it not got down as thin as the homoeopathic soup that was made by boiling the shadow of a pigeon that had starved to death?"

The speech the Judge complains about Lincoln giving in Chicago and not in Egypt, said Lincoln, had in substance been given in Springfield, outside the abolition section of the state.

Taking up Douglas' understanding of the Declaration of Independence, Lincoln said his own sentiments were those of Clay, who said: "What is the foundation of this appeal to me in Indiana, to liberate the slaves under my care in Kentucky? It is a general declaration in the act announcing to the world the independence of the thirteen American colonies, that 'men are created equal.' Now, as an abstract principle, there is no doubt of the truth of that declaration, and it is desirable in the original construction of society, and in organized societies, to keep it in view as a great fundamental principle."

"When I sometimes, in relation to the organization of new societies in new countries, where the soil is clean and clear," said Lincoln, "insisted that we should keep that principle in view, Judge Douglas will have it that I want a Negro wife. He never can be brought to understand that there is any middle ground on this subject."

LINCOLN SLEPT HERE — The Browning house at the southeast corner of Seventh and Hampshire where Lincoln was a guest: the day of the debate and where he spent the night of Oct. 13, 1858. Orville H. Browning built this house in the 1850s and moved into it from his original log cabin home. The three-story house was comfortable and afforded room for much entertaining. Browning was host at many dinners and balls. From this house, soon after his return from Washington at the close of Johnson's administration in which he had served as secretary of interior and attorney general, he moved to his new and larger home on North Eighth street, now a part of St. Joseph hospital. This picture, taken long after Browning left the house, shows the old St. Boniface school building in the background. The Browning house became a music academy and burned a half century ago.

THE FOLLOWING TRIBUTE TO

Abraham Lincoln

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OF OCTOBER 13, 1858

★

L incoln's name stands forever enshrined among the galaxies of the world's great immortal dea
I ndelibly written on the pages of American history are his hallowed words and deeds. A road t
N ational destiny, beset with travail and decreed by necessity, was his to travel. Easy, impromp
C onsiderations and decisions were inconsonant with the great perils of the time. When our fla
O n Fort Sumter was shot down, the ominous spectre of war brought to Lincoln a spiritual recoi
L eaving, as it did, only one course open, at a sickening cost of much of the nation's blood and
N ational era of reconstruction, terrible in terms of suffering and want, and without a terminu
.
Q uenchless emotion ruled the campaign of the doughty Douglas and the humble Lincoln. Both hel
U nalterable but opposing philosophies on the burning issue of slavery. The searing debate her
I n Quincy's Washington Park was a memorable battle of thrusts and parries that brings a thro
N ow, as we look back one hundred years and survey the blessings Lincoln's victory bestowed in
C entury upon this nation, we are thankful that his humility and the rightness of his cause pu
Y esteryear Lincolnia on every book-shelf. He preserved the Union. His tomb is a hallowed shrin

D O U G L A S . D E B A T E

End of Act 1 . . . at Alton Oct. 15

AT last they reached Alton, final stop on the debate circuit, with the relentless eye of national attention upon them, and almost the end of the campaign. Before Douglas could start his opening speech, Dr. Hope asked the privilege of asking a question. "If you will not occupy too much of my time," Douglas replied. Dr. Hope asked: "Do you believe that the territorial legislature ought to pass laws to protect slavery in the territories?" Douglas: "You will get an answer in the course of my remarks."

Lincoln, said Douglas, was nominated at the Springfield Republican convention and laid down as "creed and platform" that the government could not endure half slave and half free, and a crusade against the supreme court's Dred Scott decision on the grounds that it deprived Negroes of the rights and benefits guaranteed citizens in the Constitution. His own platform, said Douglas, announced in Chicago, was that he would "sustain the course I had pursued in congress." In the Chicago speech he took issue with Lincoln's platform, and Lincoln replied there, uttering "sentiments in regard to the Negro being on an equality with the white man."

* * *

ON THESE three points the two had campaigned, Douglas proclaiming the house divided doctrine "a slander upon the immortal framers of our Constitution," for the sovereignty of the states was thereby attacked as well as the healthy diversity of local customs and institutions, he said. Under this popular sovereignty right the 12 slaveholding colonies joined with the one free colony in forming the Union, northern states later abolished slavery, and the number of free states increased until they held the balance of power. With that power, Douglas asked, "are you now prepared to abandon the principle and declare that merely because we have the power you will wage a war against the southern states and their institutions until you force them to abolish slavery everywhere?"

At Ottawa Lincoln "began to crawfish a little, and let himself down," according to Douglas. Failing to answer the question about admitting a slave state, Lincoln finally made a try at it in the Freeport debate, but an analysis of his answer reveals the question asked was not the question answered. Lincoln answered that he would reluctantly vote to admit a slave state if slavery had been kept out of the territory beforehand, while this condition applies to none of the territories. Asked then what he would do if congress had not prohibited slavery in the territory before it sought admission, Lincoln did not answer, Douglas claimed.

In the case of Texas, the deal was to allow four states to be formed out of the old state, each to decide the slavery question for itself, but Lincoln will not answer how he would vote "to redeem that pledge." Douglas is ready to accept states either way, under his "none of your business" doctrine. He fought the Lecompton constitution because it was not the act and deed of the people, he said. A constitution cannot be forced on an unwilling people. Those who opposed him and supported the Lecompton constitution did so on grounds of expedience, he charged, and then explained his opposition to the English bill.

Douglas repeated his explanation of the split in Democratic ranks, and the Washington Union's attack against him, and followed it with a repeat of his argument concerning the Dred Scott decision and the Declaration of Independence.

* * *

LINCOLN COMPLIMENTED Douglas on his fight with the administration. "I say to them again —'Go it, husband—Go it, bear!'" But Douglas at one time advocated the Missouri Compromise before switching to popular sovereignty, he noted, and added: "I want to know if Buchanan has not as much right to be inconsistent as Douglas has?"

Discussing what he called Douglas' misrepresentations of his positions regarding the Declaration of Independence and the Dred Scott decision, Lincoln said he had not taken issue with the court's denial of Negro citizenship. He hade merely enumerated points in the decision which indicated what he believed to be a plot to nationalize slavery. Douglas, said Lincoln, proposes to make him appear to be an abolitionist.

Douglas' quotations from Lincoln's speeches were taken out of context and misused, Lincoln claimed, and supplied the context to make his point.

He referred to a letter published in the Chicago Times purporting to answer his claim that until Democratic policy dictated three years before, no one had made the statement that Negroes were not included in the "created equal" assertion of the Declaration of Independence. The writer cited a letter written by Clay to prove Lincoln wrong. But the writer misunderstood Clay, Lincoln replied.

Clay had written in support of equality as an abstract principle in "the original construction of society," and always to be "kept in view as a great fundamental principle," but necessarily modified in practice. For one thing, Clay wrote, women, minors, the insane, culprits, transient sojourners, and others, "will always probably remain subject to the government of another portion of the community."

Of slavery Clay wrote, in the same letter: "I desire no concealment of my opinions in regard to the institution of slavery. I look upon it as a great evil; and deeply lament that we have derived it from the parental government; and from our ancestors. But here they are and the question is, how can they be best dealt with?"

He was following Clay, Lincoln said, in urging that slavery be left out of new territories, and combating an effort to dehumanize the Negro — "to take away from him the right of ever striving to be a man."

Douglas is warring against the house divided speech "as Satan does upon the Bible," Lincoln quipped. In that speech Lincoln said that the country was in its fourth year since the Nebraska bill went into effect aimed at ending slavery agitation, but as Crittenden pointed out, at the time there was no slavery agitation!

A collateral object in the introduction of the Nebraska bill was "to clothe the people of the territories with a superior degree of self-government," Lincoln claimed. In this, he said, "it has been nothing but a living, creeping lie from the time of its introduction, till today."

* * *

LINCOLN SAID his intent to arrest the spread of slavery was in accord with the intent of the fathers, for they provided for the end of the slave trade, kept slavery out of the territories, and with an eye on the future did not expressly refer to slavery or race in the Constitution. In the provision for representation, Negroes are referred to as persons. When that policy was introduced there was no war, said Lincoln. Why, then, should there be war when that policy is reasserted, he asked.

Variety in customs and resources is a beneficial thing and not to be disturbed, Lincoln claimed, but slavery is another matter. It has been a constant source of irritation and was even then dividing the churches and other societies. Behind the disturbance was something more than politicians seeking office.

"Is it not this same mighty deep-seated power that somehow operates on the minds of men, exciting and stirring them up in every avenue of society—in politics, in religion, in literature, in morals, in all the manifold relations of life? Is this the work of politicians? Is that irresistible power which for fifty years has shaken the government and agitated the people to be stilled and subdued by pretending that it is an exceedingly simple thing, and we ought not to talk about it? If you will get everybody else to stop talking about it, I assure you I will quit before they have half done so."

Is not a care-nothing policy a false policy, he asked. "He is but fighting a man of straw" if he assumes Lincoln is contending against the right of states to do as they please about slavery, Lincoln said of Douglas. "Our controversy with him is in regard to the new territories."

"What I insist upon is, that the new territories shall be kept free from it while in the territorial condition," Lincoln said. Where would free men have gone to get away from slavery if this policy of Douglas had been in effect in the beginning, Lincoln asked. Territories should be places wherein men can better their condition, an outlet for people the world over.

* * *

THE KEY DIFFERENCE between the parties is that the Republican party regards slavery as wrong, while the Democratic party does not. Slavery has caused dissension and threatens liberty and prosperity, and should not be permitted to spread, Lincoln flatly stated.

He spoke to those who were against slavery but favored gradual emancipation to end it. An effort by Frank Blair and Gratz Brown failed in St. Louis, he said, and the result was cheered in Alton! The "don't care" attitude is all right only if slavery is not wrong. "But if it is wrong, he cannot say people have a right to do wrong."

"It is the same spirit that says, 'You work and toil and earn bread, and I'll eat it.'

"I now say that willingly or unwillingly, purposely or without purpose, Judge Douglas has been the most prominent instrument in changing the position of the institution of slavery which the fathers of the government expected to come to an end ere this —and putting it upon Brooks' cotton gin basis — placing it where he openly confesses he has no desire there shall ever be an end of it."

With 10 minutes left, Lincoln turned to Douglas' case in the Dred Scott affair. While supposedly upholding the decision, Douglas has maintained the right of the territorial legislature to prohibit slavery within the territory, Lincoln said. The legislator, sworn to uphold the Constitution of the United States, would thus violate his oath. Douglas opposes those who do not support the Dred Scott decision: "But he is for legislating it out of all force while the law itself stands. I repeat that there has never been so monstrous a doctrine uttered from the mouth of a respectable man.

"I do not believe it is a constitutional right to hold slaves in a territory of the United States," Lincoln declared.

There is no difference, he said, between the constitutional right to reclaim a fugitive and the constitutional right to hold a slave in a territory, if the Dred Scott decision correct. To admit nullifying the one is to open the way to nullifying the other.

"Why there is not such an abolitionist in the nation as Douglas, after all."

* * *

SO IT CAME to Douglas' last turn. Lincoln's favoring the war in the Democratic party "is something really refreshing. . . It is the first war I ever knew him to be in favor of prosecuting. . . When the Mexican war was being waged, and the American army was surrounded by the enemy in Mexico, he thought that war was unconstitutional, unnecessary and unjust."

He had not charged Lincoln with voting against providing supplies for the army during the Mexican war, as Lincoln asserted, for by the time Lincoln arrived in congress all the necessary supplies had been provided, "and not being able to stop the supplies, because they had all gone forward, all he could do was to follow the lead of Corwin, and prove that the war was not begun on the right spot, and that it was unconstitutional, unnecessary, and wrong."

"That a man who takes sides with the common enemy against his own country in time of war should rejoice in a war being made on me now, is very natural. And in my opinion, no other kind of a man would rejoice in it."

Lincoln claims, in this part of the state, to be a Clay Whig. But General Singleton has testified that Lincoln, in 1847, proposed overthrowing Clay in favor of General Taylor, was a bitter and deadly enemy of Clay, and "rejoiced with very great joy when he found the mangled remains of the murdered Whig statesman lying cold before him."

Clay returned to the senate in 1849 to put down agitation stirred up by Lincoln, Seward, Chase, Giddings and other abolitionists, and, with Douglas, succeeded.

Slavery is not the only issue that has threatened the country, Douglas continued. Nullification in 1832, the last war with Great Britain, the tariff question, all created dissension.

"He says that he looks forward to a time when slavery shall be abolished everywhere. I look forward to a time when each state shall be allowed to do as it pleases."

Our fathers did not foresee the telegraph, or railroads, or the thousand mechanical inventions "that have elevated mankind." So their foreseeing that slavery would one day end, proves nothing, and the principles of the government should stand in any case.

Lincoln will force the territories to become free states, "surrounding the slave states with a cordon of free states, and hemming them in, keeping the slaves confined to their present limits whilst they go on multiplying until the soil on which they live will no longer feed them, and he will thus be able to put slavery in a course of ultimate extinction by starvation."

What the British government refused the colonies—the right to representation — Lincoln would deny the territories, and calls on congress to pass laws controlling their property and domestic concerns without their consent and against their will. Thus he asserts for his party the identical principle asserted by George III and the Tories of the Revolution."

Repeating his argument that unfriendly legislation effectively keeps slavery out, Douglas said that agitators have combined to make war on slavery, driving the nation to sectional strife.

"The only remedy and safety is that we shall stand by the Constitution as our fathers made it, obey the laws as they are passed, while they stand the proper test, and sustain the decisions of the supreme court and the constituted authorities." The debates were over.

It was estimated in 1830 that there were in the U. S. 200,000 drunkards and 6,000,000 moderate drinkers. Two years later the numbers were reduced to 125,000 drunkards and 3,000,000 moderates.

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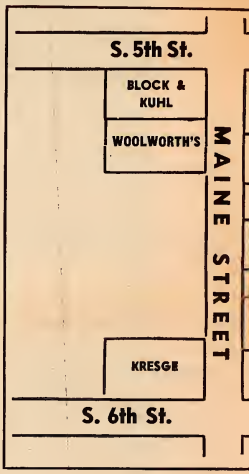

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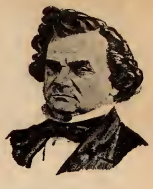
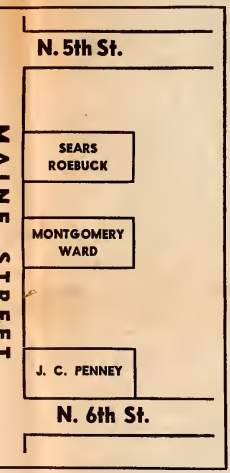


OUGLAS DEBATE IN QUINCY 1858



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Then Brooks and Dallam Pitched In

NO sooner had Lincoln and Douglas stopped than Austin Brooks and Frank Dallam began. More accurately, the two senatorial candidates were sandwiched into a virtually continuous journalistic debate between the editor of the Daily Quincy Herald and the editor of the Daily Quincy Whig and Republican.

The actual politicking wasn't quite finished for the day when the two gladiators retired from the platform. Both parties held follow-ups that night — the Republicans gathering in the court house to hear the eminent Carl Schurz, German-American journalist and future cabinet member, while the Democracy gathered in the square to hear Arnitzer and Reed, both local men.

Brooks wrote that the Democracy met in the square, "no house in the city being large enough to contain one-fourth of them." The Republican meeting was aimed primarily at the German population, and Schurz spoke first in German and then in English. Once more the Republicans held a torchlight parade, winding through downtown streets, with speeches by congressional candidates Jackson Grimshaw and Ben Prentiss thrown in. The Democracy had another parade of its own, and everyone made off—surely must have crawled off—to bed.

An announced balloon ascension apparently didn't get into orbit. The parading and the talking just didn't pause long enough.

The whole thing now belonged to the story-tellers.

* * *

THE WHIG "reported" that a man hawking likenesses of Judge Douglas that day ran into trouble. His starting price was $.75, but as Lincoln spoke the price fell to $.60, and by the time Douglas was half through the price had fallen to a quarter! It made good reading for the Republicans, though undoubtedly apocryphal. This distinction was not always so easily made.

Dallam of the Whig got off the first postdebate shot, on Friday. Neither paper published on Thursday.

"In the half hour which Mr. Lincoln had to close, he gave Douglas one of the severest skinnings that he has received in the course of this canvass. In fact, he made the fur fly with every word. We never heard any speaker say as much in the space of half an hour. . . . As for the speech of Judge Douglas, no one seems to have heard anything of it. He spoke so indistinctly that not one in a hundred of those present could understand him; and we heard many Democrats express their chagrin and disappointment. 'Old Abe's' voice however, rang as clear as a bell, and those even on the outskirts of the crowd were able to hear him."

In spite of the influx of Missourians, the Republicans outnumbered their rivals, the Whig claimed, and so "the cheers for Douglas were faint and few; while those for Abe Lincoln rang out with a hearty good will from thousands of earnest and determined free men. The Republicans have reason to congratulate themselves upon the success of the day. Yesterday, whenever we met a Republican, he was looking as happy as a bridegroom. The Douglasites, on the contrary, are awfully cut up. They are disappointed in the speech of Judge Douglas. Those who heard it—and they were very few, confined principally to those on the platform—say it did not come up to their expectations."

The next day the Whig carried a little item reporting the disappointment of the Missourians. "They came over with the expectation of hearing the 'Little Giant' trot 'Old Abe' through. They returned sadly disappointed. One of them remarked to us that, although he was in about 10 feet of the stand, he couldn't understand more than one word in a dozen of Douglas' speech — while he could hear very distinctly every word uttered by Mr. Lincoln. He spoke in approving terms of Mr. Lincoln's speech — and remarked that he would not come again thirty miles to see one of his friends so completely scalped and skinned as Douglas was by Lincoln. Many of our Missouri neighbors returned home with fleas in their ears"

Battle of Running Words Followed in Herald, Whig

In the same edition there appeared an item from the Keokuk (Ia.) Gate City, substantially in agreement. Douglas was "mad and bellowed like a bull," said the Keokuk writer. "Nobody could understand half what he said, and many went away disappointed and disgusted. Lincoln had half an hour to close, and those who heard him will never forget how completely he demolished the long harangue of Douglas and turned all its points back upon himself, amidst the delighted and triumphant shouts of the crowd. . . . Lincoln far exceeded and Douglas fell much below public expectation."

* * *

THE HERALD was two days late reporting the event in any detail, explaining in Friday's paper that there had been so many visitors in the office the editor just didn't have time to write.

And then he apparently neglected to read the Whig! "The Democracy of Illinois have reason to be proud of the demonstration in this city on Wednesday last," he began. He said the Republican procession greeting Lincoln was half a mile long, with four or five hundred people, while the Democratic procession stretched not less than two miles.

"As the speeches will be published," he continued, "we shall not speak of them here, any further than to say that Judge Douglas did himself and his political friends full justice. If the Black Republicans think the same of Mr. Lincoln, then both parties were highly gratified with what they saw and heard. We observe that the Whig (he did read it!) in its extravagant account of the debate, says that Mr. Lincoln completely annihilated his opponent. The best way to test that question, is for the Whig to tell us upon what point Mr. Lincoln accomplished all this? Can it do it? Dare it try? Upon what point did Mr. Lincoln answer or attempt to answer Judge Douglas, and how did he answer him? Will the Whig or any of its friends—inasmuch as the speeches are yet to be published—inform us? We are willing to let their speeches speak for themselves. In order to let its readers decide this matter for themselves, will the Whig publish Judge Douglas' one speech, if we will publish Lincoln's two speeches? What do you say, Mr. Whig?"

After telling about the Democratic rally that evening, Editor Brooks concluded: "Thus began, and thus ended the day — the most glorious to the Democracy that Quincy ever saw. The result of last Wednesday's work in this city will be told on the 2d day of November, by a clean round thousand majority in Adams county.— Mark the figure!" (Democratic majorities ranged from 272 to 434.)

In another squib, Brooks took issue on the size of the crowd. He had estimated 20,000 and the Whig editor called the estimate too high. Brooks printed an excerpt from the Keokuk Post with tacit approval: "Thirty thousand persons assembled at Quincy on Wednesday, to hear the speeches of Douglas and Lincoln. That must be the biggest crowd ever assembled in Quincy at any one time." Yes, indeed.

* * *

MONDAY MORNING the Herald published all of Douglas' Quincy speech. It ran more than six columns, a little more than one full page in small type. Repeated was the Brooks' offer to print both Lincoln speeches if the Whig would print the one Douglas gave. The same day the Whig printed all of Lincoln's closing speech but said nothing about the Herald challenge. He would like to print the whole debate, Dallam wrote, but space did not permit.

Tuesday morning Brooks gloated! "The Black Republicans of this city are humiliated, deeply and sorely chagrined at the course of their organ, the Whig. The day after Douglas and Lincoln made their speeches here, that paper came out with a flaming article claiming a glorious victory for Lincoln, declaring that in the debate he achieved a most signal triumph over Douglas. It got off a whole column of boasting twaddle. We had encountered and dealt with the Whig often before, and we knew precisely how to deal with it in order to expose its insincerity and hollow-heartedness. We knew very well that it did not itself believe what it said. But in order to give it an opportunity to prove its faith by its works, we proposed that if it would publish Judge Douglas' speech, we would publish Mr. Lincoln's two speeches in the Herald—and what is its response? Why, forsooth, its 'space won't permit!' More than this — and worse yet — it refuses to publish both of Lincoln's speeches itself!" The challenge, with much saber rattling, was renewed.

"We did not notice the 'banter' contained in the Herald of Saturday, on that day, to the effect that if we would publish the speech of Douglas delivered here on the 13th, they would publish those of Mr. Lincoln, delivered at the same time," Editor Dallam replied on Tuesday. "At the sacrifice of much space, we commence the publication of these speeches today. They will all appear together in a connected form in our next weekly. We expect to see the Herald do likewise." About a third of Lincoln's opening speech was carried in the Whig that day.

Brooks was just warming up. "A CLEAR BACKDOWN AND FIZZLE—THE WHIG EFFECTUALLY CORNERED! the headline read. The Whig, said Brooks, has said it will publish all the speeches in its next weekly edition, but "it does not intend and will not do any such thing. The most that it will do — the very extent to which it can be induced to go, will be to publish Lincoln's speeches as reported by his friends and give a garbled publication of Douglas' speech as reported by his enemies."

"It is afraid to let the telling, unanswerable, overwhelming, crushing speech of Judge Douglas go before its readers. Mr. Black Republican, dare you deny it?"

With somewhat less gusto, Dallam replied. "So, the Herald, in announcing that the Whig backs down, has, as usual, gone off half-cocked. We most gladly accept the proposition — and only stipulate that the Herald shall publish the speeches of Mr. Lincoln, from the verbatim reports in the Chicago Press & Tribune; and not the mutilated one which appears in the Chicago Times. In regard to this mutilation, the Chicago Press and Tribune says: 'In the Times' published report of the Quincy debate, Lincoln's speech is so shockingly mutilated that it could hardly be recognized by those who heard it. Its eloquent passages are turned end for end; their sense marred and their beauty destroyed. The points made upon Mr. Douglas are either wholly omitted or are blunted by the transposition of sentences, by repetition of words, or by a mingling of half a dozen sentences in one. In fact, there is hardly a paragraph or a line in which the finger of the senator, anxious to conceal the truth from the people of Illinois, is not clearly discernible.'

Writing that he was happy to get all the speeches before the public, Dallam said: "Let the Herald now do as we are doing; and in the future, never crow until it is certain that it is 'out of the woods.'" There followed the remainder of Lincoln's opening speech.

Brooks was still on the offensive. Thursday he wrote: "THE WHIG BROUGHT TO ITS MILK! A Bitter Dose and an Ugly Face! After so long a time, and after bantering and tantalizing it almost out of its boots, we have succeeded in persuading the Whig that it had better take up with our proposition and publish Judge Douglas' speech in this city, on condition that we should publish the two speeches delivered by Mr. Lincoln." That morning it published Lincoln's first speech. The same day the Whig published the entire debate. Friday the Herald published Lincoln's second speech and the challenge appeared to have been met and both sides of the bargain fullfilled.

Thus a week and a half after the event, subscribers to both daily papers had had opportunity to read the speeches of the debate, in full, and had been treated to a side show of editorial dueling. On Nov. 2 the people would announce their decision.

LINCOLN IN SPRINGFIELD—This statue by Andrew O'Connor depicts Abraham Lincoln during his years of law practice in Springfield where he spent most of his active prepresidential years. It was unveiled Oct. 5, 1918, by Britain's Lord Charnwood, famous Lincoln biographer, and stands near the street directly in front of the state capitol. On the back of the monument is engraved Lincoln's farewell speech when he left Springfield to become president.

So It Rained on Election Day!

WHEN the stumping was over, and about all there was to do was wait for the election, local editors turned to betting on the outcome, warning the party faithful to beware of opposition tricks on election day, and pleading for a 100 per cent turn-out.

Dallam of the Whig wrote ominously late in October: "From various quarters of the state, the warning comes that men are flooding in upon us — ostensibly to work on railroads, but in reality, to help to overcome the Republican majorities in those localities." Behind it, he said, were Douglas and the Illinois Central railroad.

Two days later he offered a $50 reward for the arrest and conviction of "any person guilty of voting contrary to law in Adams county at the election on Tuesday. It is thought that such is in contemplation, and hence the object of this reward."

Feeling was strong and running high. "Throughout this sovereign state," Dallam wrote, "from the shores of Lake Michigan to the confluence of the Ohio and Mississippi rivers, from the banks of the Wabash on the East to those of the Father of Waters on the West — everywhere, among all communities and all classes of men — there is one general feeling of excitement. The State is in commotion. It is agitated from centre to circumference."

In Cincinnati a luckless Republican stepped out into a raucus Democratic parade, booing, and was stabbed to death. His martyrdom made Republican headlines across the land.

In Kansas, early in August, a Miss Irene Baker, 17, married a man of 75, it was reported, "from admiration of one of his political speeches." So anything could happen.

Brooks of the Herald was confident. He assured "friends abroad" that reports of the Democratic split in Illinois were exaggerated. "Here in Quincy," he wrote, "the stronghold of dissaffection in the district, there are not ten men at the extent who have heretofore voted the Democratic ticket that will fail to vote it again next fall." But edition after edition was filled with heavy pleas for party solidarity against the common enemy, for a heavy turn-out on election day, and caution in the act of voting to make sure ballots were valid and not copies of purposely misprinted ballots traitorously circulated by the enemy.

There were still charges and countercharges to be hurled. The Whig claimed Douglas mortgaged his Chicago property for $52,000 in order to buy votes, and the Herald soberly reported that Buchanan had caused $200,000 to be sent into Illinois to defeat Douglas.

In the upcoming presidential election Brooks and his partner would bet their newspaper, worth, they said, $10,000, on a Douglas victory — no takers. But in 1858 shortly after the election, Brooks' financial condition was anything but healthy and he offered to sell his half share in the paper. He blamed his strait on "the neglect and mismanagement of others and partly to my own carelessness and total want of capacity as well as inclination, to look as well to my own interests as it has been my habit to look to the interests of others." Translation: "It's been a costly campaign and I've let the paper go to pot!"

A partial explanation was inadvertently given in an October issue: "The scarcity of reading matter this morning together with the very apparent lack of the usual amount of editorials, will be satisfactorily explained by the fact that all hands attended the horse races at the county fair yesterday, which races came off under the direction of Lorenzo Bull and other deacons of the Congregational church of this city."

There were plenty of bets for those interested. The Herald relayed information that an unnamed individual was ready to bet a cool hundred on each of seven Democratic candidates, including Douglas and Brooks, another hundred on winning a majority of the first seven bets, and still another hundred "that no Black Republican dare take the bets." If there were any takers, the Herald did not report. A similar Republican offer was made in the Whig.

Then there was a $3,000 bet proposed by "a Democrat of this city," according to the Herald, put on Douglas.

But the next breath came plunging out with a desperate plea:

"DEMOCRATS OF ILLINOIS! Are you Ready for the Fight? . . . Democrats there is not a vote to be lost! The glorious cause for which many of you have battled a life-time is in jeopardy and demands that you should redouble the efforts which formerly crowned it with victory . . . GO TO THE POLLS — for your homes, your firesides, your wives and your little ones. Go as you did for years past, cool, collected and determined. . . ."

With a little less drum-thumping, the Whig urged every patriot to go to the polls — especially Republican patriots: "Devote one day to the cause of Liberty, and if you are active, earnest and vigilant, victory will crown your efforts!"

It rained in Quincy on Tuesday, Nov. 2, 1858, and a large but disputed number of voters, in spite of debates, spectacles, and desperation journalism, simply stayed home.

Lincoln Challenged, Douglas Protested, Then Fixed Details

IT was Lincoln, in accord with the Republican central committee, who challenged Douglas to joint debates. Late in July, 1858, after the two had traded political punches at Chicago and Springfield, Lincoln wrote to Douglas, saying:

"My Dear Sir: Will it be agreeable to you to make an arrangement for you and myself to divide time, and address the same audiences during the present canvass? Mr. Judd who will hand you this is authorized to receive your answer; and, if agreeable to you, to enter into the terms of such agreemnet. Your obedient servant, A. Lincoln."

Douglas replied immediately, citing difficulties in the way of the proposal; his own speaking arrangements made into late October — meetings at which other Democratic candidates might also speak would "leave no opportunity for other speeches." And in case there was a third candidate, in view of the Democratic split, it would mean Douglas would be unfairly sandwiched between two opponents. He said he was surprised Lincoln didn't issue his challenge earlier.

Overriding his own objections, Douglas proposed meeting Lincoln in seven of the state's nine legislative districts. In the Second and Sixth districts, both had already spoken.

Suggested as debate sites were Ottawa, Freeport, Galesburg, Quincy, Alton, Jonesboro and Charleston. If this much was agreeable with Lincoln, further details could be worked out later, Douglas noting that "you had the concluding speech at Chicago and Springfield."

The Democratic press charged Lincoln with waiting with his proposal until Douglas had announced his appointments, and predicted Lincoln would have enough after a debate or two. Republican editors countered with an attack on Douglas for his "trembling" reply. He "skulks behind the appointments of the emasculate Democratic state central committee," they sneered.

Since Douglas opened his own campaign by ripping into Lincoln's "house divided" speech, Republicans expected him to challenge Lincoln, and the Quincy Whig referred to the expectation before Lincoln's challenge was issued.

Before Lincoln could deliver a reply, he met Douglas by accident near Monticello, and offered to finish his reply on the spot if Douglas would wait. The senator declined, and a few days later the second Lincoln letter was delivered.

Lincoln protested the insinuations he read in Douglas' letter, denied having had the advantage at either Chicago or Springfield, and said: "As to the other details, I wish perfect reciprocity and no more. I wish as much time as you, and that conclusions shall alternate. That is all."

Douglas then proposed times and places: Ottawa, Aug. 21; Freeport, Aug. 27; Jonesboro, Sept. 15; Charleston, Sept. 18; Galesburg, Oct. 7; Quincy, Oct. 13; Alton, Oct. 15.

Alternate openings and closings were fine with Douglas, if he did the opening and closing at Ottawa, Jonesboro, Galesburg and Alton, with Lincoln assigned Freeport, Charleston and Quincy.

The first speaker was to have an hour, the second speaker was given an hour and a half in which to reply, and the first speaker was to have half an hour for rejoinder.

Lincoln accepted, noting the four to three advantage for Douglas, and the hard fighting began. No other joint arrangements were made.

The Herald announced the Quincy debate in this way:

"Judge Douglas in Quincy, Oct. 13th. Senator Douglas will address the people, in the city of Quincy, on Wednesday, Oct. 13, 1858. Mr. Lincoln will also address the people in the city on the same day. Let the people, far and near, make arrangements to turn out to hear them. The Democratic motto is—'hear both sides, then decide.' Democratic truth can suffer nothing from full, fair, and free discussion, and in the hands of Douglas it always comes forth with a brighter polish and greater attractions than ever. Remember the day and arrange accordingly."

Every day for a week the Whig ran this announcement:

"The Friends of HON. ABRAHAM LINCOLN—In the city and country are invited to rally in their strength at QUINCY on Wednesday, Oct. 13th. Abraham Lincoln and Judge Douglas will address the masses then assembled . . . All who desire to hear the true principles of the Republican party expounded, and the unsound doctrines of the Douglas Democracy exposed, are invited to attend."

The Result: It's a Slip, Not a Fall

THE people spoke! In Quincy and Adams county they spoke Democratic. On the state ticket they spoke Republican. And in the legislature they spoke two languages which produced a Douglas "beat note."

However you cut it, there was no escaping the irreversible fact—Lincoln had failed; Douglas had won.

It was almost as if Lincoln knew a bevy of penmen would delight in savoring the poignancy of the state of the little boy Lincoln said he felt like. Stubbing his toe, the boy said "it hurt too bad to laugh, and he was too big to cry." Or the others who would latch on to the clairvoyance of a chance utterance of his, as he slipped, walking alone from his law office that night, barely catching his balance and staying on his feet: "It's a slip," he said, "and not a fall."

As far as the votes went, and they didn't go far enough for Lincoln, he had bested his rival by almost 4,000. Neither name was on the ballot, but the Lincoln party polled 125,430 congressional votes, to 121,609 for the Douglasites. An additional 5,071 votes were cast for Buchanan Democrats.

WHERE THE ISSUE WAS BORN — This plaque near the present Scott county court house in Winchester marks the location of the old court house in the upper room of which Abraham Lincoln delivered his first speech in August, 1854, in opposition to the Kansas-Nebraska bill. Four years later, that bill became the basis for his debates with Douglas.

When the legislature met on Jan. 5, 1859, although there was a last round of desperate in-fighting by Lincoln partisans, and other anti-Douglasmen, Douglas secured re-election to the U. S. senate by a vote of 54 to 46.

There were then 100 members of the Illinois legislature, 25 in the senate and 75 in the house. Representation was determined by an apportionment law passed by the legislature in 1854. In the succeeding four years Republican majorities built up in previously Democratic districts and the population of other Republican districts had so increased as to warrant additional representatives.

Of the 13 hold-overs in the senate, eight were Democrats and four Republicans, and one a member of the American party, anti-Douglas and pro-Lincoln. Each party elected six to the senate, giving a three-vote edge to the Democracy.

In the senate the vote was 14 to 11 for Douglas, while the house vote was 40 to 35 for the Little Giant.

A fair apportionment would have given the Republicans 41 in the house and 14 in the senate, according to the Quincy Whig.

According to the Herald, there were 6,472 votes cast in Adams county, compared with a vote of 6,197 in 1856—an increase of 275. While the Democrats gained 90 in that four-year period, the Republicans had gained 107. Brooks of the Herald said the rain on election day was to blame. Oddly enough, the Republicans used the same excuse.

Brooks himself was elected to the senate to vote for his friend and colleague, Stephen A. Douglas, defeating John Tillson by just 33 votes — 1,051 to 1,018 — scarcely more than were cast for the third candidate, William H. Carlin, who received 28.

Successful candidates for election to the house of representatives from this district were Democrats Western Metcalf, 1,061, and Moses M. Bane, 1,052. Dallam, editor of the Whig, received 1,016 votes, and Republican Thomas Baley, 1,010.

Hailing the result at first as a "glorious result," because the Democratic majority had been whittled down, Dallam later wrote: "The Republicans have done pretty well, considering the day. We shall have to pick our flints and try it again!"

The Campaign Was Earnest and Wearing

LATER glorified as a battle of political titans, belittled as dialectically amateurish, or simply ignored, the Illinois senatorial campaign of 1858 will forever be noteworthy for the earnest, hammering persistence of the campaigners.

It was said at the end of the four-month campaign that Lincoln was still fresh as a daisy while Douglas was faded, his voice hardly more than a harsh whisper. The wonder is that either was still on his feet.

The seven joint debates captured the headlines but were the smallest part of the campaigning. Each candidate traveled some 5,000 miles on an itinerary which included a combined total of 70 cities and towns in Illinois, one in Missouri and one in Iowa.

Not-to-be-trusted reports of the number of people who attended the seven debates indicates a total audience of something like 80,000, at the outside, but the two men probably faced close to a million, all told. It was probably the highest percentage of a state's population ever directly reached in a political campaign.

* * *

WHEREVER the primitive railroads would take them—and that was over 3,000 miles in 1858—or the Mississippi and Illinois rivers would carry them, they went. In between rivers and railroads they went by carriage on roads which were often little more than cow paths, and, at that time of year, not infrequently axle-deep in mud.

Hotels in whistle-stops were as primitive as the roads, with poorly prepared food and uncertain accommodations.

Speaking had to be done in the open air—chill, moisture-laden, raw, windy, for two or three hours at a crack. Not even driving rain gave repreive.

With no microphones, audiences of from one to 20,000 were to be reached on lung power alone.

Every time the train stopped or the carriage bogged down or the steamboat put in toward shore it was time for a speech, or a greeting or a delegation.

The two spoke a total of 121 times—Douglas 66 and Lincoln 55, with an undetermined number of lesser but taxing impromptu speeches interspersed.

The itineraries criss-crossed over the state, Lincoln now trailing Douglas and denounced for "stealing" Douglas crowds, Douglas later following Lincoln. People in 42 cities heard both men, sometimes on the same day. Lincoln spoke in only nine towns not visited by Douglas, while Douglas, appealing more strongly than did Lincoln in Egypt, spoke in 21 towns not reached by Abe.

Both spoke twice in Clinton and Macomb; Douglas spoke twice to Lincoln's once in Chicago, Bloomington and Peoria, while Lincoln spoke three times to Douglas' once in Springfield.

* * *

CORRESPONDENT Henry Villard, who accompanied the debaters, later wrote of it:

"As I had seen something of political campaigns before, this one did not exercise the full charm of novelty upon me. Still, even if I had been a far more callous observer, I could not have helped being struck with the efficient party organizations, the skillful tactics of the managers, the remarkable feats of popular oratory, and the earnestness of the audiences, I witnessed. It was a most instructive object lesson in practical party politics, and filled me with admiration for the Anglo-American method of working out popular destiny."

"In other respects, my experiences were not altogether agreeable. It was a very hot summer, and I was obliged to travel almost continuously. Illinois had then only a million and a half of inhabitants, poorly constructed railroads, and bad country roads, over which latter I had to journey quite as much as over the former. The taverns in town and country, as a rule, were wretched; and, as I moved about with the candidates and their followers and encountered crowds everywhere, I fared miserably in many places. Especially in the southern part of the state, then known as 'Egypt,' and mostly inhabited by settlers from the southern states, food and lodging were nearly always simply abominable. I still vividly remember the day of semi-starvation, and the night with half a dozen roommates, I passed at Jonesboro, where the third debate took place."

* * *

FOR THE PEOPLE, however, it was a combination county fair, picnic, parade, frontier version of a TV spectacular, with brass bands, pretty girls, fireworks, prancing horses, transparencies, blazing torches, cannonades and balloon ascensions; it was a style show, a town meeting, a circus, a tug of war, a free-for-all; and it was for everybody high and low, merchant, farmer, blacksmith, mayor.

Nearing its end, the stump meeting still had about it in 1858, more excitement and activity than anything the frontier offered, with the possible exception of a real rip-roaring revival. Earlier, before the day of the newspaper, word that a candidate was to "take the stump" was enough to cause the reaper to drop his scythe and the grocer his apron, and send kids running in a thousand directions. Without printing presses or public halls, all that was necessary was a stump in a grove of trees, or a town square, a fired-up candidate and an excitement-starved country-side.

Bitterly attacked as a political method, putting, as it did, a high premium on oratorical ability, mental agility, verbal butchering, it involved people in the issues and decisions of state and nation, as perhaps no other political maneuver has succeeded in doing.

There were, between Lincoln and Douglas, plenty of old stump-meeting tactics. Both were not adverse to throwing out a red herring or two, and, especially off the beaten track, language came crude. It was reported that Douglas had had too much to drink before he spoke at Havana, and called Lincoln "a liar, a coward, a wretch, and a sneak."

To later commentators the whole thing appeared to have been rather futile. The problems involved were either settled or were then beyond settling. Kansas had already voted down the Lecompton constitution and was on its way to becoming a free state. Dred Scott was dead, and the supreme court decision concerning him had no practical bearing on problems then at issue. Slavery had little chance in any of the remaining territories. And there were other pressing national problems, the tariff, immigration, education, the extension of railroads, the opening of new lands, international policy, agriculture, labor conditions, economic depressions, and a hundred more. Some of them were included in the platforms of both parties, but none of them figured in the Illinois campaign.

The debates were more spectacle and exhibition, almost sporting event, than efforts to come to the truth of some matter, or to work out a formula of agreement.

* * *

YET THE BASIC issue of slavery, of the degrading of some men by other men, appearing now in one form, now in another, masquerading in all sorts of guises and disguises ever since, and the ways in which free men are to exercise their freedom under the limitations of republican government, and the relation between state and state, and state and nation — these seem valid enough to have been worthy of two such men as Lincoln and Douglas, the tremendous effort they put into that campaign, and the attention later focused upon them and it, others have said.

When it was over the St. Louis Republican, a Douglas paper, summed it up:

"The last conflict was at Alton, on Saturday, and there both gentlemen, before a new audience, endeavored to acquit themselves to the satisfaction of their respective partizans. Both gentlemen were jaded and worn, and it is not surprising that they should have delivered themselves less happily than they would otherwise have done if the subject had not been worn threadbare by weekly reiteration and they themselves worn down by constant effort. The wonder is, indeed, that for sixty days past they could have made speeches to so many crowds embracing the same topics, and yet give vitality to them."

Henry Villard was at a flag station not far from Springfield at the end of the campaign, the night before the election, and Lincoln was there waiting for a train. Rain began falling and the two ran for shelter to an empty box-car.

Seated on the floor of the car, his long legs drawn up before him and clasped round by the long arms, Lincoln talked freely and lightly of the campaign and of his wife Mary's intimation that "such a Sucker as me" could ever be president. Lincoln, Villard recalled, laughed deep and full at the joke upon himself.

'58 City Busy and Thriving

SOMETIME shortly before that Wednesday which was to be remembered and remembered and remembered, Quincy became a "city." Officially it happened 18 years earlier, but people who knew cities would have laughed to see what the term applied to on the western edge of Illinois.

There was no further change in official status, no city ordinance or state legislation. But people felt the difference.

Writing of it, John Tillson said it was in the air. It was in the almost continuous activity of the city wharf, in the strangers in town — 10 of them in 1857 for every one there had been five years before; in bigger stores and eastern merchandise; in the hum of commercial, legal, agricultural activity; in homes and buildings and streets and sidewalks; in having weathered calamity and survived intrigue.

Still young, still growing, still uncertain about what it would or could become, Quincy was nevertheless, all things considered, all allowances made, a city.

With the completion of the railroad in January, 1856, and the rising volume of river travel, Quincy was joining the world, an ambitious growing little spot on the vast network of roads and railroads joining the rivers and canals in tying place to place and people to people.

* * *

THE CITY through which Old Abe paraded to the rowdy accompaniment of his supporters, and in which the Little Giant defended his Nebraska act that October day in 1858, had suffered its way through 39 years of rugged history, and multiplied its population from the "one" of Willard Keyes, to perhaps 12,000 people.

The crowd on deleatc day, about equal to the population of the city, filling and overflowing what some people had called "John's Prairie" and others knew as Washington park, included men who had been part of the growing.

The original town was laid out on the northwest quarter of Section 2, Township 2, south of the base line, Range 9, west of the fourth principal meridian. There were 130 lots on a little less than 160 acres, and when they were offered for sale at an auction in 1832, 51 of them sold for a total of $714, the highest-priced going for $38, considered "enormously heavy dealing in real estate," Henry Asbury wrote.

By 1858 the 12,000 people lived in a city of 2,500 acres. In 10 years the population had doubled. Four years earlier the first railroad iron was laid in the city — the same year Thayer's distillery burned, a $50,000 fire, and the city was lighted by gas.

James H. Pitman was mayor in 1858. The Whig was then 20 years old, and Quincy had had at least one daily paper off and on for eight years.

It was 10 years since the telegraph arrived, pole-vaulting from St. Louis via Springfield. It was 12 years since the Mormon war, and 16 years aince Maine street was cut through from Third to the river, slicing through Mount Pisgah, a huge mound filled with the bones and relics of Indians whose wigwams may have stood where two rival white statesmen debated the atatus of another minority race.

Twenty-three years earlier it got so cold that a stage driver's face froze and he lost an eye. That year the town's first newspaper, the Bounty Land Register, began publication. Three men who aurvived that winter became governors of the state and three others became United States senators. The governors were Ford, Carlin and Wood. The senators, Young, Browning and Richardson.

A tornado ripped through the model city, 10 years before 1858's hot winds of political debate and demonstration whipped things up. But the same year a steamboat, glory of the age, built in Quincy, was launched in the Father of Waters.

The year of the tornado and the steamboat was also the year of the town's first school. One 15-year-old girl was taken out of that school almost before the ink was dry, and her father explained ruefully that Lizzie had been three days in school and hadn't "learnt a hooter!"

Now there were three public schools: Franklin, built 13 years earlier on Fifth between York and Kentucky; Jefferson, built the following year on Broadway between Fifth and Sixth, and Webster, bfuilt in 1855 at Twelfth and Maine. Still years away was the first public high school.

* * *

DOUGLAS ARRIVED in Illinois in 1833, when Jacksonville was larger than Chicago, Quincy had 116 families and a total population of 689, and one out of every 10 in the town was killed by cholera—33 dying in five days starting on the Fourth of July. Fifteen years later the dread disease struck again, killing 400, including the mayor.

The town's size in the first cholera year can be gauged from its division into districts to fight the disease. District 1 was bounded by Maine and Hampshire streets; District 2 included everything north of Hampshire, which wasn't much, and the town south of Maine was District 3.

A year before the debate the city's first board of trade was organized. Just 30 years earlier beeswax was called land office money and coon skins were known as common currency. A man could acquire a bee tree by carving his initials in it and then use it in trade for a dollar's worth of merchandise.

Recurrent financial crises, unwise municipal investments in railroads, bank failures, national economic busts, had dealt ungraciously with the river town.

The city's bonded indebtedness in 1857 was $200,000, exclusive of railroad subscriptions which tripled that amount. Annual receipts of $82,627 that year fell uncomfortably short of the $93,823.34 spent And the city owed its school fund $11,359. This deficit eventually got so large that to clear it the city turned over its school property to the school board.

In July, 1857, there was an earthquake. These were trying times.

While the fearful and apprehensive cried, others built. Four-story buildings—the apogee of Quincy architecture a century ago—were going up — two by E K. Stone on Maine between Fourth and Fifth, the Loniclino building to the east of these, erected at a cost of $20,000, and the Flagg and Savage building at Fifth and Maine.

Ten years earlier four beautiful three-story buildings were built on the north side of the square where the old Land Office hotel otherwise known as the Bed Bug Hotel, had stood. Hampshire street was then the town's principal thoroughfare for it was the longest level street with the easiest ascent from the river, and its extension into the country was one of the best roads in the area.

Liquor arrived in 1826 and four years later temperance followed, fighting a losing battle.

A preacher delivered the city's first sermon 30 years before people stood listening to Lincoln and Douglas for three hours! By the time of the debate Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Baptists, Congregationalists, Lutherans, Roman Catholics, Unitarians and Methodists were organized — there were 20 churches in town.

The parents of Joseph Smith rented a building at the northeast oorner of Sixth and Hampshire in the winter of 1837-38, and exhibited a number of curiosities, including mummies said to have come from Egypt.

People here didn't pay much attention then to Mormon fugitives from persecution, but interest picked up in a few years, about the time the Smiths' son got an ordinance passed in Nauvoo requiring that anyone caught trying to serve him with process, demand or requisition from Missouri, be immediately placed under arrest, brought to trial in municipal court, and, if found guilty, sentenced to life in the city prison, with the stipulation that a pardon by the governor would have to be approved by the mayor — Joseph Smith! Quincyans in committee and army figured prominently in the battle of Nauvoo in September, 1846.

* * *

FEELING WAS against slavery when a projected convention to oonsider opening the state to slavery was beaten at the polls in 1824, but abolitionist was a dirty name years later and not everybody participated in the underground railroad to help hunted men reach freedom. But the railroad was here.

Quincy and Adams county would send 5,173 men into the Civil war, a total exceeded in the state only by Cook and La Salle counties, both of which were larger. A regiment of Negroes was largely recruited here and Grant went through here on his first assignment to penetrate Missouri.

The city had come a long way since its post office was a pine box in John Wood's cabin. But it hadn't been easy. Cold, cholera and flood took their toll. In the middle of the richest valley in the world, the city's border location invited unsought involvement in the violence occasioned by Mormons, slavery and the terrible rebellion — "outside disturbances," Henry Asbury called them.

It was a brawling river town. It was not at all unusual in the early years for disputes over land titles to be settled bare-knuckle fashion, disputants stripping to the waist, settling the issue in the middle of Maine street, shaking hands when the best man won, and walking off satisfied. Not all problems yielded to this method.

When the "baby judge," 27-year-old Supreme Court Justice Stephen Arnold Douglas, sat on the circuit court bench here in 1841-43, he made out famously with the land disputes and the brawlers and the name callers, but when he returned some 15 years later to wrestle with a deeply moral problem persistently obtruding in a hard-fought political campaign, there was some reason for questioning his success. His opponent, perhaps seeing the issue more clearly, could claim no victory in final answers.

So a town and a nation, growing out of wilderness and frontier, suffered the pains of growing, and looked ahead.

THE GOOD OLD DAYS — This is perhaps the best picture in existence of Maine street between Fourth and Fifth. Looking toward the river, it was taken between the close of the Civil war and 1871. The large building at the corner of Fourth and Maine, is the Quincy House, erected by John Tillson in the mid-'30s when Quincy had only 650 population. The Quincy House was the finest hotel of its time west of Pittsburgh. Douglas lived there during his later years in Quincy and stayed there the nights preceding and following the debate here. Lincoln also stopped there when he visited Quincy in 1854. When the hotel burned, the Newcomb hotel was built on the spot. The signs tell a story. Gardner and Brooker had a book bindery, Charles E. Allen a wholesale hardware establishment, and the elder D. L. Musselman operated a night writing class on a third floor while he taught in the day at the old Quincy English and German college on the site of the present Jefferson school. Note the scythes and grain cradles in racks outside the hardware stores.

STATUE—This Lincoln statue by the famous Irish-born American sculptor, Augustus Saint Gaudens (1848-1907) stands in Lincoln park, Chicago.

World on The Move In 1858

Reading his evening paper, secure in his new frame house heated with the latest Comstock stove, Mr. Average Quincyan of the 1840s and '50s met the world in one of its most volatile moods.

Gold and evolution and machinery and the railroad and people on the move headlined the 20 years in the middle of the 19th century.

When gold was discovered in California in 1849 people began pushing west in anything that could be pushed or pulled. Following them were the first farm machines, and wave after wave of immigrants from troubled lands.

And strangely it was the heyday of the "anti's"—the anti-liquor, the anti-slavery, the anti-foreigner, the anti-different.

It was a hundred years before the agricultural glut and its woe-laden parity program, but a farmer in Jackson county was reported to have committed suicide in consequence of the failure of his crops.

Perhaps its was the absence of television. In Virginia they hanged people publicly, and the Whig reported Judge Thompson of Wheeling ordered Burns, a convicted murderer of his mistress, to be hanged on a hill where thousands of people could see it.

There was adventure on the high seas. Under the heading: "Mutineers Arrive," the Whig told of the whaleship, Junior, reaching New Bedford having on board eight mutineers who murdered Capt. Archibald Mellen and the second mate. The captain was shot with a whale gun, according to the report, but the mutineers were ultimately foiled.

Black Hawk made his last stand in Illinois only 26 days before the Lincoln-Douglas debate. And in August, 1858, the Sioux and the Chippewas fought a bloody battle near Big Stone, Minn.

The Atlantic cable was successfully laid that August and Queen Victoria exchanged messages with President Buchanan.

A Negro drummer boy who had served in the Revolutionary war died that summer in Elbert county, Ga., at the age of 107. He had been present at the battlea of Eutaw Springs, Guilford Court House and Brandywine, it was reported.

Blood transfusing was a novel and promising medical innovation. Reported by the Herald: "The delicate and interesting operation of transferring blood from one person to another has been successfully performed by Dr. Wheatley, an English surgeon, upon the person of a female patient. When apparently expiring from loss of blood about two pounds were transferred from the veins of her husband into her veins, with the most favorable result."

Signs of the times were carried in the Whig of June 26, 1958. Readers were informed that during the week ending June 16, 1,630 emigrants arrived in New York, making a total of 28,734 since Jan. 1, compared with 75,421 in the same period the year before. One hundred acres of land on the Charleston railroad, four miles from Memphis, Tenn., had been purchased for a race course, for $15,000. Several hundred tons of silver were received in San Franciso from Arizina, crossing the country by wagons at a cost of $300 per ton. And last year, the Whig announced without comment, women of the U. S. spent $38,000,000 for finery.

There were no ball soores to report—politics was spectacle and sport—but the results of religious revivals were soberly and statistically reported. On April 2, 1858, the Whig carried a summary of conversions: Maine, 311; New Hampshire, 82; Vermont, 304; Massachusetts, 2,574; Rhode Island, 387; Connecticut, 795; New York, 2,386; Pennsylvania, 1,764; New Jersey, 698; Delaware 40; District of Columbia, 21; Maryland, 9; Ohio, 1,148; Indiana, 737; Illinois, 1,146; Michigan, 604; Wisconsin, 465; Iowa, 278; Minnesota, 388; Missouri, 424; Kentucky, 498; Tennessee, 711; Virginia, 295; other states, 177; British Provinces, 287.

The same month a mob burned down houses of ill-repute in Peoria.

Rumor was in 1840 that Davey Crockett was living as a slave in the mines of Mexico, having been captured not killed at the Alamo, and the South was stirred.

Dr. Easterly's Iodine and Sarsaparilla was advertised to cure all disease arising from an impure state of the blood.

In St. Louis the annual assessment of property revealed there were 929 slaves, valued at a total of $456,055, or an average of $490 apiece, in 1858.

And down at the bottom of the page: "Emily: Shall you dress much tonight, dear?" Lilian: No—as little as possible—I'm going to a ball."

G. C. B. & L.

IS PROUD TO BE A PART OF QUINCY

Centennial Celebration

THE HISTORICAL LINCOLN-DOUGLAS DEBATE
OF OCTOBER 13, 1858

THERE IS NO TIME MORE FITTING THAN NOW TO CALL TO MIND THE PROFOUND MEANING OF LINCOLN'S FAMOUS GETTYSBURG ADDRESS. WE AT G. C. B. & L. ARE PROUD TO MAKE THESE WORDS RING OUT ONCE AGAIN . . .

Gettysburg Address

Fourscore and seven years ago, our fathers brought forth upon this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.

Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation—or any nation, so conceived and so dedicated—can long endure.

We are met on a great battlefield of that war. We are met to dedicate a portion of it as the final resting place of those who have given their lives that that nation might live.

It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this.

But, in a larger sense, we cannot dedicate, we cannot consecrate, we cannot hallow, this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have consecrated it, far above our power to add or to detract.

The world will very little note nor long remember what we say here; but it can never forget what they did here.

It is for us, the living, rather, to be dedicated, here, to the unfinished work that they have thus far so nobly carried on. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us; that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they here gave the last full measure of devotion; that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain; that the nation shall, under God, have a new birth of freedom, and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth.

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Douglas Sketches His Life After Five Years in Illinois

Editor's Note: When Stephen A. Douglas was 25 years old and had been five years in Illinois, he decided to write the events of his life. His success had been almost miraculous. From a penniless boy, he had advanced to school teacher, lawyer, prosecuting attorney and a politician of sufficient stature to win election to the legislature.

Illinois had been good to the young man, but the best was ahead. Soon he was to be appointed secretary of state, then a justice of the supreme court, to win election to congress and the U. S. senate and become the leader of his party and its candidate for president.

The biography was written three years before Douglas became a resident of Quincy. Unfortunately, Douglas did not continue his story, and the text below never was finished.

The original copy of Douglas' autobiography is in the possession of Martin F. Douglas, his grandson, in Greensboro, N. C., who received it from his father, Robert M. Douglas.

Autobiographical Sketch of Stephen A. Douglas.

Sept. 1, 1838

I this day commence this memorandum or journal of passing events for the purpose of refreshing my mind in future upon subjects that might otherwise be forgotten. It may be well to turn my attention to the past as well as the future, and record such facts as are within my recollection or have come to my knowledge, and may be interesting or useful to myself or others hereafter.

Father Was Doctor.

I learn from my mother that I was born in the town of Brandon, in the county of Rutland, and state of Vermont on the 23d day of April, 1813. My father, Stephen A. Douglas, was a graduate of Middlebury college, a physician by profession, and a man very much beloved by all who knew him. I only speak of my father as I have always heard others speak of him, for he died when I was only about two months old, and of course, I cannot recollect him. I have often been told that he was holding me in his arms when he departed this world.

My mother, who thank God yet lives, was a Miss Sarah Fisk before she was married. My parents had but two children, my sister Sarah A. Douglas (who has since married Julius N. Granger, of Manchester Centre, Ontario county, N. Y.) and myself.

Upon the death of my father, my mother moved to a small farm left her by her father about three miles north of my native village, and resided with her brother, Edward Fisk, who was an industrious, economical, clever old bachelor, and wanted some one to keep house for him. This arrangement suited them both as their forms joined, and each was so situated as to need the aid of the other.

Here I lived with my mother and uncle upon the farm until I was about 15 years of age, and then determined to select some other mode of living. I had no great aversion to working on a farm, nor was I much dissatisfied with my uncle, but thought him rather a hard master, and unwilling to give me those opportunities of improvement and education which I thought I was entitled to.

I had enjoyed the benefits of a common school education three months each year, and had been kept diligently at work the rest of the time. I thought it a hardship that my uncle would have the use of my mother's farm and also the benefit of my labor without any other equivalent than my boarding and clothes. I therefore determined upon leaving my home and my true friends, and see what I could do for myself in the wide world among strangers.

My mother remonstrated, warned me of the dangers and temptations to which young men are exposed, and insisted upon my selecting some trade or engaging in some business that would give me a steady home and regular employment. I promised to comply with her wishes, that is, keep good company, or in other words, keep out of bad company, avoid all immoral and vicious practices, attend church regularly, and obey the regulations of my employer; in short I promised everything she wanted if she would consent to my leaving home.

DOUGLAS' FIRST ILLINOIS HOME — When Stephen A. Douglas came to Illinois at the age of 20, his first home was in Winchester. There he taught a subscription school, studied law and was admitted to the bar. This statue was erected in the Stephen A. Douglas Civic square in 1929 as the result of a bill in the assembly offered by Rep. Mary McAdams of Adams county. It is perhaps the best statue of the "Little Giant" and was executed by Fred M. Torrey. The lower picture shows the inscription on the back of the monument.

Learned a Trade.

Accordingly in the spring of 1820, being about 15 years of age, I bid my mother, sister and uncle farewell, and left home for Middlebury, about fourteen miles distant, and engaged to learn the cabinet-making trade with one Nahum Parker. I put on my apron and went to work, sawing table legs from two-inch plank, making wash stands, bed steads, etc., etc.

I was delighted with the change of home and employment. There was a novelty about it that rendered it peculiarly interesting. My labor furnished exercise for the mind as well as the body. I have never been placed in any situation or been engaged in any business which I enjoyed to so great an extent as the cabinet shop. I then felt contented and happy, and never aspired to any other distinction that connected with my trade and improvements in the arts.

Towards the end of the year I became dissatisfied with my employer in consequence of his insisting upon my performing some menial services in the house. I was willing to do anything connected with the shop but could not consent to perform the duties of a servant in the house. A difficulty soon arose between Mr. Parker and his wife and myself, and resulted in my leaving him and returning home.

So much was I attached to the life of a mechanic, I could not content myself at home and soon got a situation in the shop of Deacon Caleb Knowlton, a cabinet maker in Brandon, my native village. I remained with my new employer about a year, and pursued my business strictly, as all the apprentices in the shop were required to do. Whilst I lived with Mr. Parker I formed a taste for reading, particularly political works, by being associated with a number of young men who spent their time nights and Sundays in reading and study.

At this time, politics ran high in the presidential election between General Jackson and J. Q. Adams. My associate apprentices and myself were warm advocates of General Jackson's claims, whilst our employer was an ardent supporter of Mr. Adams and Mr. Clay. From this moment my politics became fixed, and all subsequent reading, reflection and observation have but confirmed my early attachment to the cause of Democracy.

Formal Education.

In the winter of 1829 and 1830 I was taken sick and compelled to return home. My physicians informed me that my physical strength was too feeble to work at the cabinet business and that it would be necessary for me to select some other occupation.

Finding my health too feeble to work in the shop, I commenced going to school at the academy in Brandon, under the direction of J. N. Chipman, and continued under his instruction until the fall of 1830, when I removed to Canandaigua, Ontario county, N. Y. My sister had previously married Julius N. Granger, and removed to his residence in Manchester Centre, Ontario county, N. Y., and this year, 1830, my mother married his father; and now the father and mother and only son and only daughter became united on one family where they continue to reside in the enjoyment of peace, plenty and happiness.

Upon removing to the state of New York in December, 1830, I became a student in the academy of Canandaigua under the superintendence of Prof. Henry Howe, where I continued until the latter part of 1832. Whilst connected with the academy at Canandaigua I devoted myself zealously to my studies, the Greek and Latin languages, mathematics, rhetoric, logic, etc., and made considerable improvement.

The Journey West.

About the 1st of January, 1833, I left the academy and entered the office of Walter and Levi Hubbell as a student at law. I pursued my law studies diligently five days in the week, and the sixth I spent in reviewing my classical studies, until sometime in the month of June in that year.

Finding myself in straitened pecuniary circumstances, and knowing my mother's inability to support me through a regular course of law studies, which would continue about four years longer, according to the statutes of New York, requiring a course of seven years classical and legal study before admission to the bar. I determined upon removing to the western country and relying upon my own efforts for a support henceforth. My mother and relatives remonstrated, urging that I was too young and inexperienced for such an adventure; but finding my resolution fixed and unchangeable, they reluctantly consented, and kindly furnished me with three hundred dollars, the last of my patrimony, with which to pay my expenses.

On the 24th of June, 1833 (being 20 years of age), I bid farewell to my friends and started alone for the "great West," without having any particular place of destination in view. The first night I arrived at Buffalo and thence took a trip to the battle grounds of Chippewa, Niagara, the falls, etc., etc., and returning to Buffalo in a few days, I embarked on a steam boat for Cleveland, O.

DOUGLAS' TOMB — This tall marble shaft capped with a statue of the "Little Giant" marks the tomb of Stephen A. Douglas, who died in Chicago in June, 1861. Douglas, whose home was in Quincy during his judgeship, his three elections to congress and a portion of his first senate term, moved to Chicago in the late 1840s. The tomb is located on a small triangle of land that was owned by Douglas near the Illinois Central tracks on Chicago's south side.

Arriving at Cleveland I presented a few letters of introduction to some gentlemen of that place which I had received from Messrs. Francis Granger, Mark H. Sibley and other kind friends. By means of these letters I immediately became acquainted with Sherlock J. Andrews, Esq., an accomplished and intelligent gentleman and distinguished lawyer of that city. Being pleased with Cleveland and its prospects for business, and also with the few acquaintances I formed there, I immediately determined upon remaining there.

By the statutes of Ohio I was required to pursue the study of law one year within the limits of that state before I could be admitted to practice. For this purpose Mr. Andrews was kind enough to offer me the use of his office and library, which I gladly accepted, and entered upon my studies with increased spirit and zeal. In a very few days, however, I found myself prostrate upon my bed with the bilious fever, and was confined until some time in the month of October, about four months. This sickness has often since been, and still continues to be, the subject of the most serious and profound reflection.

My condition, the circumstances with which I was surrounded, the doubtful and sometimes hopeless issue, and especially my feelings, thoughts, and meditations, are all now fresh in my mind. I was among entire strangers. During the whole time I never saw a face I had ever seen before: I was so feeble as to be entirely helpless, unable even to turn myself in bed; I was advised by my physicians that there was no reasonable hope of my recovery, and that I ought to be prepared for my final dissolution which was then expected to take place from day to day.

I was in the full enjoyment of my senses, perfectly conscious of my condition, and listened patiently and calmly to all they told me, and felt perfectly indifferent as to the result. I felt satisfied with the past and no particular hopes or

Douglas Autobiography Continued

apprehensions of the future. I thought I was on the dividing line between this world and the next, must continue to exist in the one or the other, was willing to take either, and felt no choice which. In short, during that four months of severe sickness, I enjoyed more peace and contentment of mind, more perfect freedom from all care and trouble, except occasional bodily pain, and more negative happiness than during any other similar period of my life.

To Illinois.

That such should have been the state of my mind under such peculiar and trying circumstances, has ever been to me the subject of curiosity, wonder and amazement. I can account for it upon no principle of philosophy or human nature, and now make this private record of the same for the purpose of seeing if future experience and observation shall solve the mystery.

Upon regaining my strength in the month of October so far as to be able to walk, I paid off all my bills occasioned by my sickness or otherwise and found I had about $40 left. I then became reckless and adventurous, and determined to leave the place. Accordingly I took passage on a canal boat for Portsmouth on the Ohio river, thence on a steamboat to Cincinnati, thence to Louisville, thence to St. Louis, Mo., remaining in each place a few days without any particular object in view, and ready to embark in any adventure adapted to my taste and feeling which should present itself.

At St. Louis I soon found my small pittance of money was about exhausted, and that I must immediately engage in some employment there which would defray my expenses, or go to some place not far distant where I could do so.

My first effort was to obtain a situation in some law office in the city, where I could write and perform office labor sufficient to pay my expenses, and during the rest of the time pursue my law studies. Here a difficulty presented itself which I had not foreseen and guarded against. I was more than a thousand miles from home, or from any person whom I knew or who knew me, and had no letters of introduction. Perceiving this difficulty I felt great delicacy in offering my services. Stern and impending necessity staring me in the face, I resolved at all hazards to make the effort.

I first called on Mr. Bates, introduced myself and told him my business and situation. He received and treated me kindly and politely; and informed me that he had nothing for me to do; but would be happy to see me at his office, etc., etc., for all which I tendered him my grateful asknowledgements and retired.

After making a similar effort with like success with Mr. Spaulding, I paid my tavern bill and left the city, going to Jacksonville, Ill.

At Jacksonville, I formed a few acquaintances and attempted to get into business of some kind, say teaching school, clerking, etc., but without success.

When I arrived at Jacksonville, I had left one dollar and twenty-five cents in money, and finding that would not pay my board more than one day at the tavern, I sold a few school books I had with me for a few dollars, and took up my lodgings at a private house, Mr. Heslip's, whose family I have known and esteemed ever since.

One of my first acquaintances at Jacksonville was Murray McConnel, Esq., a lawyer of some reputation, who advised me to go to Pekin on the Illinois river and open a law office. I informed him that I had never practiced law, had not yet procured my license, nor had I any library. He informed me that he would furnish me with a few books, such as I would stand in the most need of immediately, and wait for the pay until I was able to pay him, and did so to the amount of $30 worth, which I received and subsequently paid for.

He told me that a license was a matter of no consequence, that I could practice before a justice of the peace without one, and could get one at any time I desired to do so.

I concluded to take his advice, and consequently packed up my things and went to Meredosia on the Illinois river to take a steamboat to Pekin. Arriving at the river, I waited one week for a steamboat, and then learned that the only boat which was expected up the river that season had blown up at Alton, and consequently there would be no boat up until next spring.

What was now to be done? After paying my bill at the tavern, I had but fifty cents left. I could find nothing to do there, and had no money to get away with. Something must be done, and that soon.

Winchester Career.

I inquired as to the prospect of getting a school, and was told by a farmer residing in the country a few miles that he thought that I could obtain one at Exeter, about ten miles distant; and if I would go home with him that night, he would go to Exeter with me the next day. I accepted his invitation, left my trunk at Meredosia, rode behind the farmer on the same horse to his home, and the next day we both went to Exeter.

He introduced me to several citizens who were very polite and kind; but did not think a school could be obtained there; but if I would go to Winchester, eight or ten miles further they had no doubt I would succeed in obtaining one. I thought this was rather poor encouragement; but what was to be done? I was out of money, and still in too feeble health to perform any very arduous labor; and must do something to live; for I was too proud to beg. I therefore determined to go to Winchester and make another effort. Accordingly I parted with my friend, the kind hearted hospitable farmer and taking my cloak on my arm, went to Winchester on foot that night.

Arriving in town, I went to the only tavern in the place, introduced myself to the landlord and told him I wished to stop a few days with him to which he readily assented. The landlord introduced me to the citizens generally, who seemed pleased with the idea of a new school in their little town, and in a few days obtained for me a subscription list of about 40 scholars.

In the meantime there was, on the second day after my arrival, an administrator's sale, at which all the personal property of a dead man's estate was to be disposed of at auction, and the administrator applied to me to be clerk at the auction, make out the sale bills, draw the notes, etc., which I very cheerfully consented to do, and performed the duty in the best style I knew how, and received five dollars for two days labor, therein.

About the first of December I commenced my school, and closed it about the first of March, having during the whole time a goodly number of scholars, and giving, as I believe generally, satisfaction to both scholars and parents. During this period I attended to considerable law business before justices of the peace, and formed an extensive acquaintance with the people in that part of the country.

There was considerable political excitement growing out of the veto of the U. S. bank and the removal of the deposits by General Jackson, or rather the removal of the secretary of treasury because he would not remove the deposits, and the appointment of Mr. Taney in his place who did remove them from the vaults of the U. S. bank.

One evening at the Lyceum, Dr. Josiah Lambert, a lawyer of some distinction from Jacksonville, made a speech denouncing the leading measures of Gen. Jackson's administration, and especially the veto and removal of the deposits. He characterized the first of those acts as arbitrary and tyrannical, and the last as dangerous and unconstitutional.

Jackson His Hero.

Being a great admirer of Gen. Jackson's public and political character and a warm supporter of the principles of his administration, I could not remain silent when the old hero's character, public and private, was traduced, and his measures misrepresented and denounced.

I was then familiar with all the principles, measures and facts involved in the controversy, having been an attentive reader of the debates in congress and the principal newspapers of the day, and having read also with great interest, the principal works in this country; such as the debates in the convention that formed the Constitution of the United States, and the convention of the several states on the adoption of the Constitution, the Federalist, John Adams' work denominated a defense of the American Constitution, the opinions of Randolph, Hamilton and Jefferson on the constitutionality of the bank, and the history of the bank as published by Gales and Seaton, Jefferson's works, etc. I had read all of them and many other political works with great care and interest and had my political opinions firmly established.

I engaged in the debate with a good deal of zeal and warmth, and defended the administration of General Jackson and the cause of the Democratic party in a manner which appeared highly gratifying to my political friends, and which certainly gave me some little reputation as a public speaker; much more than I deserved.

When the first quarter of my school expired I settled my accounts and finding that I had made enough to pay my expenses, I removed to Jacksonville, the county seat of the same (Morgan) county, and commenced the practice of the law. (The present Scott county then was a part of Morgan county).

In the month of March I applied to the Honorable Samuel D. Lockwood, one of the justices of the supreme court, and after a short examination, obtained a license, and immediately opened an office, being then less than 21 years of age.

During the first week of my residence at Jacksonville, the Whig (alias Federal party) called a county meeting, and made speeches and passed resolutions denouncing the administration in the severest terms, and more especially in relation to the bank and currency question. The next week the Democrats called a meeting, one of the most numerous and spirited I have ever witnessed in that county. It was composed principally of farmers and mechanics, men who are honest in their political sentiments and feel a deep interest in the proper administration of the public affairs, although but few of them are accustomed to public discussion.

Blessing in Disguise.

It so happened that at that time out of 12 members of the bar there was not a Democrat among them. This meeting I attended, and at the earnest solicitation of my political friends (for personal friends I had not then had time to form), I consented to make a speech. The excitement was intense, and I was rather severe in my remarks upon the opposition; so much so as to excite the bitter hostility of the whole of that party, and of course the warm support of my own party.

The next week the Patriot, the organ of the opposition printed and published by James G. Edwards, Esq., devoted two entire columns of that paper to me and my speech, and continued the same course for two or three successive weeks. The necessary consequences was that I immediately became known to every man in the county and was placed in such a situation as to be supported by one party and opposed by the other.

This notoriety, acquired by accident and founded on no peculiar merit, proved highly serviceable to me in my profession; for within one week thereafter I received for collection demands to the amount of thousands of dollars from persons I had never seen or heard of.

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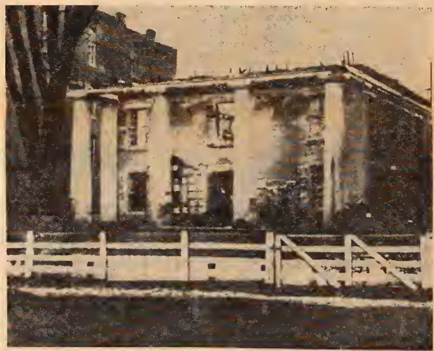
SECOND COURT HOUSE — This county building, erected to replace the old log court house at Fifth and Hampshire which burned, was 20 years old when the great debate was held in 1858. It housed city offices for many years as well as all county offices Many public meetings were held in its circuit court room, where Douglas presided in the early '40s. A few doors down the street, on the north side of Hampshire just east of Fifth, Douglas maintained a law office. In this court house the Little Giant, then in his late 20s, met all the leading members of the western Illinois bar and presided in important cases, including one that sought to prevent the moving of the county seat to Columbus. This was the center of the debate activities. Here the political parades disbanded.



AFTER THE FIRE — This is the same court house immediately after fire had wrecked it in 1875. The fire department prevented the spread of the flames to the big building to the north and the jail in the rear of the court house. The fire caused the erection in 1876 of the third court house, the big stone predecessor of the present county-city building. The third court house was damaged by a tornado in April, 1945. Though badly damaged, the court house above was repaired so that ground floor offices could be used pending construction of a new building. Other offices procurred temporary quarters in the city. Although this picture was almost 20 years after the debate, the old plank fence around Washington park still was in use, with the separate hitching racks on the outside.

Douglas Autobiography Continued

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and who would not probably have known that such a person as myself was in existence, but for the attacks upon me in the opposition papers.

So essential was the service thus rendered me by my opponents that I have sometimes doubted whether I was not morally bound to pay the editor for his abuse according to the usual prices of advertisements.

This incident illustrates a principle which it is important for men of the world and especially politicians to bear in mind. How foolish, how impolite, the indiscriminate abuse of political opponents whose humble condition or insignificance prevents the possibility of injury, and who may be greatly benefitted by the notoriety thus acquired. I firmly believe this is one of the frequent and great errors committed by the political editors of the present day.

Indeed, I sincerely doubt whether I owe most to the kind and efficient support of my friends, and no man similarly situated ever had better and truer friends, or to the violent, reckless and imprudent opposition of my enemies.

Certain I am tbat without both of these causes united, I never could have succeeded as well as I have done. But I must forbear; for I find that I am philisophizing, which is for from my present purpose.

Law and Politics.

During the summer of 1834 my time was about equally divided between law and politics, reading and practicing the one and preaching the other. There was a general election pending for governor, congressman, and members of the legislature, in which I felt no ordinary interest and took an active part. I supported the Democratic candidates; William Kinney for governor against General Joseph Duncan, and William L. May for congress against Benjamin Mills, and the Democratic ticket for the legislature in my own county. We lost our governor; elected our congressman; and a part of our legislative ticket.

At this time John J. Hardin, Esq., (now Gen.. Hardin) held the office of state's attorney, under an appointment from Governor Reynolds, which then had two years to run. He bad procured this appointment through the aid and influence of Col. James Evans, Col. William Weatherford, Capt. John Wyatt and other leading Democrats, every one of whom he opposed at the next election after the appointment.

Captain Wyatt was the only one of them who succeeded in his election, and was so indignant at Hardin for what he called his ingratitude, that he determined upon removing him from office at all hazards. The opposition having succeeded in electing their governor, there was no hope from that quarter; and the only resort left was to repeal the law conferring the appointment upon the governor, and make the office elective by the legislature.

At the request of Capt. Wyatt, I wrote the bill, and on the second day of the session of the legislature which commenced on the first Monday in December, 1834 (?), he introduced his bill, and also another bill written by myself making the county recorder's election by the people, instead of being appointed by the governor. I felt peculiar interest in tbese bills any further than I thought them correct in principle, and desired to see them pass because my friends warmly supported them. Both the bills violently opposed by the opposition (alias Federal party) and advocated by a large majority of the Democrats, and finally passed by a small majority.

When sent to the council of revision (composed of the governor and judges of the supreme court) for approval they were both vetoed; the former as unconstitutional, and the latter because it was inexpedient. Then came a desperate struggle between the friends and opponents of the bills, and especially the state's attorney bill. The opposition charged that its only object was to repeal Hardin out of office in order to elect myself in his place, and that the whole movement had its origin in Wyatt's malice and my selfishness and ambition.

I will here remark, and most solemnly aver it to be true, that up to the time this charge was made against me, I never had conceived the idea of being a candidate for the office, nor had any friend suggested or hinted to me that I could or ought to receive it. But from that moment forward, the friends of the bill declared tbat, in the event they passed the bill over the heads of the council, I should be elected to the office.

At this time I did not desire to be a candidate, for I had no reason to suppose I could be elected over so formidable an opponent who had been a long time a resident of the state, had fought in the Black Hawk war, and was well acquainted with the members. My short residence in the state, want of acquaintance, experience in my profession and age (being only 21 years old), I considered insuperable objections. My friends, however, thought differently, passed the bill, and elected me on the first ballot, by four votes majority.

I will here remark that although I wrote this bill and reaped first fruits under it, and was inclined at that time to think it was correct in principle and ought to become a law; yet subsequent experience, observation and reflection have convinced me of my error; and I now believe that all legislative elections ought to be abolished, and the officers either appointed by the governor and senate, or elected by the people. In this remark I do not mean to include clerks of our courts, whose appointments, I am inclined to think, ought to be vested in the judges.

State's Attorney.

Immediately upon my election as state's attorney I procured all the standard works upon criminal law within my reach, such as Archbold, Chitty, Roscoe, McNally, Hale's Pleas of the Crown, etc., etc., and devoted myself to the study of them with a determination of making myself master of that branch of my profession.

My official duties being exclusively witbin the line of my profession, I now applied myself assiduously to study and practice. How far I succeeded in this, I must leave to the others, who are more impartial judges than myself.

An amusing circumstance occurred in McLean county at the first court after my election as prosecuting attorney. The grand jury had found a large number of indictments for different offenses, and I had been engaged in writing them, in great haste, in order to discharge the grand jury and enable them to return to their families. After the grand jurors were discharged, John T. Stuart, Esq., came into court and moved to quash all the indictments, although he had been employed in but a small number of the cases. He stated his reasons for quashing the indictments, which were that they were presented by the "grand jurors in and for the county of McClean" when in fact there was no such county as "McClean," the true name of the county being, "McLean." Tbe manner of making this motion was very pompous and accompanied with some rather contemptuous remarks inputing ignorance to the writer of the indictments. Contrasting my youth and inexperience with the long practice and reputation of the opposing counsel, I considered his conduct extremely ungenerous, and more especially in a county where he was well acquainted with the people and I was an entire stranger.

The moment the motion to quash was made and the objection was pointed out, it struck my mind as being fatal to all the indictments, and had it been done in a respectful and courteous manner, I should have made no objection to the indictments being quashed.

When the judge (Stephen T. Logan) asked me if I had anything to say in support of the indictments, I told him I did not consider it necessary as yet to say anything, Mr. Stuart having made the motion and having the affirmative of the question, the burden of proof of course rested upon him. That I presumed the court would not take official notice that I had not spelled the name of the county right until some evidence should be produced, it would then be time enough for me to rebut such evidence.

The court decided that it could not officially take notice of the precise mode of spelling the name of the county, and gave Mr. Stuart time to procure the statute creating and naming the county. My object was now accomplished; knowing there was none of the statutes to be found in the county, and that it would require a good deal of traveling, trouble and expense to procure one, which would sufficiently rebuke the gentleman's insolence; but not doubting that when the statute was produced, it would sbow that the defect in the indictments was fatal and they ought to be quashed.

After a lapse of two days the stotute was procured from an adjoining county, and read to the court by Mr. Stuart, when to his astonishment, and I will say to the astonishment of myself and the whole bar, it appeared that the name of the county in the indictment was right, and that the learned gentleman did not know how to spell the name of the county he had practiced in for years. It turned the joke upon him so

(Continued on Next Page.)

Events in Their Lives

A chronological listing of events in the lives and times of Abraham Lincoln and Stephen Arnold Douglas.

1809—Abraham Lincoln born three miles west of Hodgensville, in La Rue county, Ky., to Thomas and Nancy Hanks Lincoln.

1813 — Stephen Arnold Douglas born in Brandon, Vt., to Stephen A. and Sarah Fiske Douglas. The elder Douglas died soon after.

1816 — The Lincolns moved to Indiana.

1817 — Nancy Hanks Lincoln died; Thomas married the widow Sarah Bush Johnson.

1828 — Douglas apprenticed to a cabinet maker after attending common school.

1830 — The Lincolns moved to Illinois; the widow Douglas married Julius Granger and the family moved to Canandaigua, N. Y.

1831 — Lincoln navigated flatboat to New Salem and stayed; worked as clerk and doer of odd jobs.

1832 — Lincoln an unsuccessful candidate for state legislature; served in Black Hawk war, kept store; Douglas enrolled in Canandaigua academy.

1833 — Douglas, 20, set out for the West, reached Jacksonville: Lincoln sold out interest in store, learned surveying, became postmaster at New Salem.

1834 — Lincoln, 25, elected to first of four terms in state legislature: Douglas taught school in Winchester; licensed to practice law in Jacksonville.

1835 — Douglas, 21, appointed state's attorney in Morgan county, result of political feud.

1836 — Douglas elected, Lincoln re-elected, to state legislature: Lincoln received license to practice law.

1837 — Lincoln left New Salem, entered Springfield law partnership: Douglas appointed registrar in U. S. Land office in Springfield.

1838 — Douglas ran for congress, defeated by 36 votes on probable election fraud; practiced law; visited Quincy to attend banquet for Governor-elect Carlin; Lincoln re-elected to state legislature.

1840 — Douglas, 27, appointed secretary of state as result of another political hassle; chairman of Democratic state committee; Lincoln re-elected to state legislature.

1841 — Douglas, 27, appointed associate justice of state supreme court after court-packing move by Democratic legislature, to preside in circuit court of Fifth judicial district; moved to Quincy: Lincoln argued 14 cases before supreme court, lost four.

1842 — Lincoln married Mary Todd; practiced law.

1843 — Douglas, 30, elected to congress, defeated Orville H. Browning of Quincy: Robert Lincoln born.

1845 — Texas annexed, slavery excluded; Douglas re-elected to congress.

1846 — Mexican war began; Edward Lincoln born.

1847 — Lincoln elected, Douglas re-elected to congress; Douglas elected to senate; married Martha Denny Martin; elected chairman of committee on territories; moved to Chicago.

1848 — Mexican war ended.

1849 — Robert Martin Douglas born.

1850 — Compromise measures passed, admitting California as free state, New Mexico and Utah to decide slavery question themselves, stringent fugitive slave law, boundaries of Texas fixed; Stephen Arnold Douglas, Jr., born: Edward Lincoln died; William "Willie" Lincoln born.

1852 — "Uncle Tom's Cabin" hy Harriet Beecher Stowe published.

1853 — Douglas' wife died in childbirth and baby girl died a few months later; Douglas journeyed to Europe and Near East: Thomas "Tad" Lincoln born.

1854 — Kansas-Nebraska bill passed, fathered by Douglas; Lincoln re-entered politics to fight it; visited Quincy; Douglas named regent of Smithsonian institution.

1856 — Douglas married Adele Cutts; Republican party organized in Illinois; killing in Kansas as free men and slave-holders attempt to colonize.

1857 — Supreme court decided Negro Dred Scott property not citizen; Lecompton constitution drafted in Kansas and nominally approved, opposed by both Lincoln and Douglas.

1858 — Lincoln bid unsuccessfully for Douglas' senate seat; seven joint debates: Kansas rejected Lecompton constitution; Dred Scott died.

1860 — Lincoln defeated Douglas and others for presidency.

1861 — Douglas, 48, died in Chicago: Fort Sumter fired upon, Civil war began.

1862 — "Willie" Lincoln died.

1865 — War ended; Lincoln, 56, assassinated by John Wilkes Booth.

A lot of things have changed since the Lincoln-Douglas debate . . .

But some things have never changed at Garrelts . . . since 1868

We Remember Mama, Papa, Your Grandparents, Too

In fact, we remember many a whole family from "way back." We have continued faithfully to serve one generation after another from the days after the Civil War to the age of jet flight. Times and styles have changed since we opened our doors for business.

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Court-packing Maneuver Sent Douglas to Quincy

STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS came to Quincy in February, 1841, on the strength of a bizarre legislative maneuver packing the supreme court to assure a partisan decision.

That gay, friendly, ambitious youth, who stood up with a speech on his lips at a moment's notice, and swayed rustic audiences with his manner and facts, with his biting, pile-driver attacks upon the opposition, with his fervent party loyalty and his cat-like propensity for landing on his feet and bouncing back into any fray, was, at the age of 27, with only a smattering of legal learning and scanty experience, on the bench, a supreme court justice!

The event which opened the bench to the rising politician involved a Whig charge of election fraud against the Democrats. Thousands of immigrant Irish laborers had been induced to vote the Democratic ticket. Alarmed, the Whigs argued that only naturalized citizens could vote and carried the case to the supreme court, on which sat four Whigs.

Douglas and others succeeded in postponing a decision until after the fall election in 1840 in which the Democrats gained control of the legislature.

Before a judicial decision was reached, the legislature passed a bill creating five new seats on the supreme court bench, unseating the state's circuit court judges, and replacing them with the new nine supreme court justices. Douglas was one of the five new judges.

ASIDE FROM the partisan motivation for the court packing, the system itself came under bitter attack. Questions decided by a judge on his circuit might then be taken before the supreme court in which the same judge sat. Since five judges constituted a quorum, it took just three to decide a case —perhaps the circuit judge involved, and two more.

It may have been by lot, but was probably by design, that Douglas received the Fifth judicial district, covering most of the military land tract, and moved to Quincy. In 1839 the Mormons fled Missouri to settle in Illinois. By the time of Douglas' appointment, Nauvoo was on the march and the Mormons an increasingly potent factor in state politics, since they numbered about 15,000. Moreover, Quincy was one of the largest cities in the Middle West, close to the vast western territories.

Unmarried, the new judge roomed and boarded in local hotels, holding court in the court house on Fifth between Maine and Hampshire, and perhaps practicing law in an office on Hampshire street.

He announced early in April when court would be held in the towns of the Fifth judicial district. He would be in Fulton county on the second Monday of March and August; in Brown county the second Monday in April and September; in Adams county the third Monday in April and September; in Hancock county the first Monday in May and October; in McDonough county the third Monday in May and October; in Henderson county the Thursday succeeding the fourth Monday of May and October; in Warren county the first Monday in June and November and in Knox county the second Monday in June and November, according to the Whig of April 3, 1841.

The Whig began almost immediately to view the situation through jaundiced eyes. "Stephen A. Douglas, Esq., is the Judge of this circuit," the editor wrote. "vice Hon. Peter Loth removed. We understand Judge Douglas has already removed that sound Whig and excellent clerk, James Monroe Burt, from office in the Brown county circuit, and appointed in his stead, a blacksmith, familiarly known in Mount Sterling as 'Tom Brockman.' This is beginning early."

When the Chicago Democrat rejoiced over Douglas' appointment to the bench, calling it a well deserved honor, and repayment for having been "wronged out of his seat in congress," the Whig grabbed the bait.

"The people can here see what qualifications are required by the loco foco party for judges, who are to sit in judgment upon character, property and life. The bare thought is dreadful, horrible!"

AS IT TURNED out, however, Douglas was generally recognized as a competent judge. According to his biographer, George Fort Milton, a Chicago Whig lawyer said Douglas was "the very best and most acute Judge in all this Democratic State. He listens patiently, comprehends the law, and grasps the facts by intuition; then decides calmly, clearly and quietly and then makes the lawyers sit down. Douglas is the ablest man on the bench today in Illinois."

But the vision and ambition of the young judge were not circumscribed by the Fifth judicial circuit, supreme court included. His eye was on the nation and its high places. Nominated by his party for congress, he left the bench in the summer of 1843, campaigned against Orville H. Browning, won, and moved to greener fields.

Twice re-elected from this district, Douglas spent little time in Quincy. His election to the senate in 1846, and his subsequent marriage, carried him away from Quincy altogether. He had made extensive real estate purchases in Chicago and announced himself a Chicagoan in 1849.

Ten years later, though given a hero's welcome here, the Little Giant was on the decline. His hard-fought battle for the Nebraska bill, his declarations during the 1858 campaign, his split with the administration, had caught the streaking comet of his ambition and sent it plummeting to earth. In less than three years disillusion would be followed by death.

His last public utterance, in Chicago in May, 1861, included this declaration: "There are but two sides to the question: Every man must be for the U. S. or against it. There can be no neutrals in this war; only patriots—or traitors."

In a thousand skirmishes and in the path of that tragic fratricide, Stephen Arnold Douglas was never neutral.

Douglas

(Continued From Preceding Page.)

completely, and excited so much mirth and humor at his expense, that he could not conceal his chagrin and mortification.

The indictments were all sustained by the court, much to my gratification. Some time afterwards I took the pains to compare this printed statute with the enrolled bill in the office of the secretary of state, and found there was a misprint, the true name of the county being McLean. This small incident, although of no consequence of itself, has been an instructive lesson to me in the practice of law ever since, to wit: Admit nothing, and require my adversary to prove everything material to the success of his cause.

Every lawyer's experience teaches him that many good causes are saved and bad ones gained by a strict observance of this rule. During the time I held the office of state's attorney, I conducted many important criminal prosecutions, and as far as I have been able to learn, acquitted myself in a manner satisfactory to my friends and the public generally.

In August, 1836, I was elected to the legislature from the county of Morgan. The contest was a very spirited one, conducted almost solely upon national politics and party grounds. Each party ran a full ticket and strived to elect the whole ticket. The stump speeches were made, principally by Gen. John J. Hardin on behalf of the Whig ticket, and by myself in support of the Democratic ticket. The contest resulted in the election of five Democrats and one Whig (Gen. Hardin.)

(Note: The original of the above sketch of Senator Stephen A. Douglas, of Illinois, is in a small blank book found among his private papers. It is in his own handwriting, hastily written and evidently never revised or continued. It it dated Sept. 1, 1858, when he was only 25 years of age, and does not extend beyond his services in the legislature.

(It was evident never intended for publication but may now have some public interest as the candid statement of the boyhood and early manhood of a young man who had bravely and successfully faced life's battle, and who was writing frankly purely for his own future information, and at a time when the circumstances were yet fresh in his mind. Autobiographies are generally carefully written in old age when the circumstances of early youth have grown dim, and perhaps unconsciously colored by the struggles and experiences of after life.—Robert M. Douglas—March 5, 1909).

The original of this autobiography is held by Martin F. Douglas, Greensboro, N. C.

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County Seat, Mormons Issues For Douglas as Quincy Judge

THE "baby judge," as Stephen A. Douglas was called, handled two of the hottest local issues while sitting on the circuit court bench here from February, 1841, until June, 1843. In neither case did the Douglas decision prove decisive. One was the county seat dispute which had been smoldering for years, and the other was the Mormon problem.

In the case of the county seat dispute, his decisions were clear enough but ineffective. Adams county voters in 1841 approved moving the county seat from Quincy to Columbus — more centrally located — but the move was blocked, first by Quincy petitioners who claimed election frauds and then by the county commissioners who decided they had jurisdiction to hear the fraud case, and in any event would not move the seat.

That September Douglas was asked to order the commissioners to obtain suitable buildings in Columbus and move county offices as directed at the polls. Douglas agreed and issued a mandamus to that effect. This the commissioners managed to evade and the following March Douglas issued a peremptory mandamus. The case was then taken to the state supreme court.

* * *

BEFORE THE court announced its decision, however, opponents of the move succeeded in a bold maneuver. The legislature was persuaded to create a new county on the eastern edge of Adams, lopping off 10 townships, with Columbus on its western edge.

Now the hitch was that the people of newly created Marquette county did not want to be separated from Adams county, and the people of Columbus did not want to be on the edge of things. They refused for a time, to elect county officials or to vote within the county. It took a new state constitution in 1848 to undo the tangle, return Marquette county, then called Highland county, to the Adams fold, with Quincy still the county seat. It was a long, bitter and complicated squabble.

* * *

SOME CLAIMED to see a Douglas involvement in local affairs before he arrived in 1841, with Lincoln in on it as well.

Lincoln was on the ballot as a presidential elector for Harrison in November, 1840. Harrison won in Adams county by a majority of 750, according to the Whig of Nov. 7, but a strange thing happened in Nauvoo.

Some 200 Mormon voters scratched the name of Lincoln from the list of electors and wrote in the name of James H. Ralston. The rumor was that Senator Richard M. Young, and Stephen A. Douglas, "who wants to go to congress," were in Nauvoo at the time of the election and were behind the scratching. The Whig called it a petty trick and promised that if the rumors should prove correct, it would "have a column to spare for their benefit hereafter." Two weeks later the Whig briefly announced that it had learned Douglas was not in Nauvoo on election day and apparently had nothing to do with the matter.

Douglas did, however, court the Mormous, and was not alone in the courting.

In January, 1842, Joseph Smith had a letter published in the Whig addressed "To My Friends in Illinois," concerning the gubernatorial election to be held in August. Democrats Adam W Snyder had been nominated for governor and Col. John Moore for lieutenant governor.

Smith wrte that "Colonel Moore, like Judge Douglass, and Esq. Warren, was an intimate friend of Gen. Bennett long before that gentleman became a member of our community; and General Bennett informs us that no men were more efficient in assisting him to procure our great charter privileges than were Colonel Snyder and Col. Moore. They are sterling men, and friends of equal rights — opposed to the oppressor's grasp, and the tyrant's rod. With such men at the head of our State Government we have nothing to fear."

This was not a political fact, Smith claimed: "We care not a fig for Whig or Democrat; they are both alike to us, but we shall go for our friends." Among their friends was Douglas.

"Douglass is a Master Spirit," Smith wrote, "and his friends are our friends — we are willing to cast our banners in the air and fight by his side in the cause of humanity and equal rights — the cause of liberty and law. Snyder and Moore are his friends — they are ours." Smith signed himself "Lieutenant General of the Nauvoo Legion."

* * *

DOUGLAS HAD occasion to show his friendship in the summer of 1841. It was only a small episode in a tangled, bloody, tragic history.

In Missouri, as later in Illinois, the Mormons and their neighbors traded charges of violence, theft, depredation. Each accused the other of burning barns, stealing and plundering. But Missouri was big and the Mormons relatively few, so they were banished and fled to Illinois, settling first in Quincy, then establishing their kingdom in Nauvoo.

But Missourians continued to charge the Mormons with Missouri crimes. In the summer of 1840 a party from Tully, Mo., crossed the river, went into the woods along the bottoms near Nauvoo, as if they knew exactly what they were doing, and seized a party of four Mormons, bound them and carried them back across the river.

The explanation was that those captured had stolen salt and iron and other goods from Tully, and were guilty because in the woods near the scene of their capture, the Missourians had found a cache of the stolen goods.

The Mormons later claimed it was a frame-up, which it appeared in fact to be, but this didn't help the poor victims, who were tied to trees and brutally whipped until they "confessed." An aged member of the Mormon group was reported released unharmed, and one of his scourged companions escaped, the other two being imprisoned

* * *

ONE OF SEVERAL writs for the arrest of Joseph Smith was then issued by the governor of Missouri and sent to the governor of Illinois. Also sought was Sidney Rigdon. Illinois authorities demanded the arrest of the Missouri vigilantes, and an exchange was proposed.

Governor Carlin reportedly turned over the writ to the sheriff of Hancock county, but the sheriff said he was unable to locate those named, and the matter rested.

In June, 1841, Joseph Smith, with General Bennett and Hyrum Smith, journeyed to Quincy on business. Joseph called on Governor Carlin, who received him politely but coolly, the Whig reported.

No sooner had the Smiths and Bennett left town, than the governor ordered the sheriff to serve Smith with the writ. The sheriff's deputies set off in pursuit of the unwary Mormons, apprehended them near Lima and returned Joseph to the Quincy jail.

The Whig took a dim view of the proceedings, not out of sympathy with the Mormons but for lack of sympathy with the Missouri charges against them, and because the governor seemed to have dallied so long.

* * *

A FEW DAYS after the arrest, Judge Douglas, then holding court in Warren county, arrived in Quincy on the steamboat Monsoon. He was immediately applied to for a writ of habeas corpus in order to try the validity of the governor's writ. Douglas granted the writ and the next week found the governor's writ to be invalid. It was but one of several unsuccessful attempts to hold Smith or other Mormons in jail. Ultimate success for Smith's enemies came when he and his brother Hyrum were murdered by a mob in Carthage in 1844

The doctrine of polygamy announced while the Mormons were still in Nauvoo brought forth the condemnation of Douglas after he left Quincy, a position some found hard to reconcile with his refusal, on grounds of individual moral freedom, to interfere with one man's enslaving of another.

* * *

MOST OF the cases before Judge Douglas were civil matters involving land and estates. Occasionally those charged with criminal offenses appealed before him but there were no very exciting trials during his tenure.

He entered his own records in the court's books and signed his name to them. The signature varied a great deal, from a small, cramped style to a broad flourish when court adjourned! During the time he was in Quincy he dropped one "s" from the end of his name.

* * *

KNOWN TO DRINK rather heavily when under pressure, Douglas was reported to have signed the pledge in April, 1842. According to the Whig editor, who was a fervent temperance worker, the judge became a Washingtonian by taking the pledge at a meeting in Lewistown. The Washingtonians took their name from old George, who allegedly drank hard liquor sparingly. The Whig reported this development without comment.

In at least one case, Douglas is reported to have reversed his own decision. He ruled in Hancock county, in the case of Warren vs. Nexsen, as circuit judge, and then, sitting on the supreme court bench, wrote, delivered and concurred in an opinion reversing that of the lower court!

What he did out of court in the brief stretches of time he spent in Quincy is not certain. On the occasion of the 100th anniversary of his birth, his grandson, Robert Douglas, said the only hobby of his illustrious forebear was extensive reading in history and politics and discussion of political issues.

The Little Giant had other involvements, however. In Springfield he joined the Masons, in 1840, became junior warden of lodge No. 4, according to his biographer, George Fort Milton. He became a Master Mason and secured the Mark degree. In Quincy he was awarded the past most excellent and Royal Arch degree, and attended meetings regularly

Raised a Congregationalist, Douglas attended several of Peter Cartwright's Illinois revivals, it was said, but was often wroth with wearers of the cloth for their political pronouncements and involvements. There appears to be no record of his attending Quincy churches.

Still shrouded in mystery is Douglas' ecclesiastical status at the time of his death. The rites were conducted by a Roman Catholic bishop in full canonical garb, which would indicate Douglas' membership in that church. There were, however, divergent accounts of the funeral, and there is no known record of conversion and Catholic baptism.

Adele Douglas, his second wife, was a Catholic, and Douglas consented to the Catholic baptism and training of his sons. While on his deathbed his wife summoned Bishop Duggan, leading prelate of the district, Milton reports, to comfort the dying man.

In 28 years Stephen Arnold Douglas cut the widest swath through Illinois politics that has ever been cut. He was the most colorful and for a time the most powerful senator Illinois ever sent to congress. Like many another little man in history, he rode tall in the saddle, leaving his mark in Quincy, Illinois, and the nation.

You Bought Your Paper And Took Your Choice

AS far as the press could see, or hoped its readers would see, the only progress there was in the debate was a steady decline of the opposition withering under the rays of righteousness and truth cast upon it by the party hero.

Each party had its official "Phonographic reporters," whose task it was to record the speeches verbatim, and according to party platform, the latter operation referred to as "color."

Accompanying Lincoln were Horace White and Robert R. Hitt. White, an editorial writer, later became part owner and editor of the Chicago Tribune and later editor of the New York Evening Post. Hitt was a pioneer in verbatim reporting and became Chicago's first expert stenographer.

With Douglas were James B. Sheridan and Henry Binmore of the Chicago Times. Binmore was hired from the St. Louis Republican and Sheridan from the Philadelphia Press. Both wrote shorthand and both filed "color" stories.

The Times, early in the campaign, played up Lincoln's colloquialisms, making him sound like an unlearned, inarticulate bumpkin, and charged Hitt with dressing up Lincoln's speeches. The speeches as printed in the Press and Tribune could not have been as spoken by Lincoln, said the Times, because Lincoln was "such a petty creature in ability, in thought, in style, in speaking, when compared with the matchless Douglas." Lincoln employed "bad rhetoric, horrible jargon," while of Douglas the Times said, "No orator in America is more correct in rhetoric, more clear in ideas, more direct in purpose."

* * *

FOLLOWING published reports of the Ottawa debate, the Galesburg paper lambasted the Times' report, charging 180 mutilations; "sentences dropped out which were absolutely necessary for the sense; many are transposed so as to read wrong end first, many are made to read exactly the opposite of the orator's intention, and the whole aim has been to blunt the keen edge of Mr. Lincoln's wit, to mar the beauty of his most eloquent passages, and make him talk like a booby, a half-witted numbskull."

As the campaign proceeded the discrepancies between partisan reports diminished.

The Whig noted, however, that: "Douglas carries around with him a reporter by the name of Sheridan, whose business it is to garble the speeches of Mr. Lincoln, and amend and elaborate those of Douglas, for the Times. As almost everybody present on Wednesday could hear Mr. Lincoln distinctly and not a hundred in the crowd could understand Douglas, we are curious to see the report that this fellow Sheridan will give of the speeches. Our word for it, he will serve his master to the best of his ability, and lie about the whole proceeding."

In reporting the debates the aim of both sides was undeviating. According to the Times, Douglas was invariably the victor and Lincoln a miserable failure, while the Press and Tribune with equal aplomb reversed the positions.

The Illinois Journal reported the predebate exchange at Springfield, saying Lincoln had "nobly and triumphantly sustained the cause of a free people," while the two-hour speech of Douglas "was adroit and plausible but had not the marble of logic in it."

By October the Journal was writing that Douglas was "false, brusque, haughty, and imperative, his voice somewhat shrill, manner positive, now faltering, now wild with excess of madness. He is a very tyrant."

According to the Philadelphia Press, Lincoln at Ottawa was "writhing in the powerful graso of an intellectual giant. His soeech amounted to nothing. . . There were no straightforward assertions and logical conclusions such as fall from the lips of Douglas."

To the New York Post correspondent Lincoln appeared, in the same debate, "clear, concise and logical, his language is eloquent and at perfect command. He is altogether a more fluent speaker than Douglas, and in all the arts of debate, fully his equal."

So it went:

Douglas—"The great Champion, and the invincible defender of the rights, liberties and institutions of a free people. . . electrified the crowd."

Lincoln—"Beginning to get very blue about his chops. . . driven almost to desperation. . . may as well hang up his hat"; described as biting his nails, glaring angrily, sulking, shamed, beaten, raving.

Douglas—"Face livid with passion and excitement. All his plans had been demolished, himself placed in the criminal's box. . . he resembled a wild beast. . . would give a year off the end of his life if he could escape meeting Lincoln at the next 6 discussions. . . . the whole speech was delivered in a coarse, vulgar, boisterous style."

Lincoln—"High-toned and honorable, bold, pungent and powerful."

* * *

THE MULTIPLE "head" on a Chicago Times reoort of the Ottawa debate: "Lincoln Breaks Down—Enthusiasm of the People —The Battle Fought and Won—Lincoln's Heart Fails Him—Lincoln Fails All Over! The People Refuse to Support Him!—The Peoole Laugh at Him! —Douglas the Champion of the People!—Douglas Skins the 'Living Dog'—The 'Dead Lion' Frightens the Canine. — Douglas 'Trotting' Lincoln Out. — Douglas 'Concludes' on Abe!"

By the end of the Ottawa debate, according to the Times, Lincoln, had "suffered severely; alternately burning with fever and then suddenly chilled with shame, his respiratory organs had become obstructed, his limbs got cold, and he was unable to walk. In this extremity, the Republican marshal called half a dozen men who, lifting Lincoln in their arms, carried him along."

Seen through the eyes of the Chicago Journal, the outcome was somewhat different. "Since the flailing Senator Douglas received at Ottawa on Saturday, we suggest that his friends hereafter address him as the late Mr. Douglas."

Douglas, it was said, "became so exhausted in speaking, upon a recent occasion, that his friends had to hold him up on the stand He was in as sad a way as the poor dog that was so feeble as to have to lean against the fence to bark."

At Galesburg Douglas "actually foamed at the mouth. . . It may have been the milk that he imbibed while sojourning in Egypt, but the general belief was that it was foam." He "attempted a half-hour's reply, but all he did was to roar, fume, slobber and fret."

Douglas, said the Quincy Whig, "is as much a blackguard as he is a demagogue, and scarcely has an equal in either respect."

After the second debate at Freeport, the Times reported that the occasional showers and the forceful blows of Douglas had a terrible effect on Lincoln. "He lost all his natural powers, and it was discovered that whenever he moved about the stand there was a leak from the roof or elsewhere The leak seemed to be confined to the spot where Lincoln stood."

The Republican press said Douglas threw mud in great handfuls.

At the end of the campaign the Press and Tribune concluded: "No fact has been more apparent in the canvass than that Mr. Lincoln was more than a match for his opponent. In all the elements of statesmanship, in close, compact, logical argument, in gentlemanly amenity, in control of his temper under the severest provocation, in an unfailing fund of good nature—in every quality, in short, that commends itself to the approbation of the better nature of man on every occasion he has loomed above Mr. Douglas, immeasurably his superior."

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Rare Painting of Douglas

One of the few known oil paintings of Stephen A. Douglas is reproduced on Page 3 of this Centennial Edition. It shows the senator in his late years, and is the property of Wayne C. Townley, prominent Bloomington attorney, president of the McLean County Historical society and Douglas student. The original painting hangs in Mr. Townley's office.

On Monday morning, Mr. Townley will present a reproduction of the Douglas painting to the Adams County Bar association in ceremonies in the circuit court room.

There are four similar paintings of Douglas, the Townley portrait, one owned by the Chicago Historical society, another by the Illinois state historical library and one by the Kansas State Historical society.

All are probably the work of Louis O. Lussier, or Lasseur, painted in Illinois before the Civil war, perhaps from a photograph.

In a booklet published last year by Mr. Townley, Dr. Robert Taft of the University of Kansas is quoted as saying: "It is my guess that all three portraits (the Chicago, Springfield and Kansas oils) were painted after a Douglas photograph about the time of his death." Dr. Taft did Douglas research in Quincy two years ago.

Judge Mark Delahay, distant relative of Lincoln, friend and early supporter of Douglas, seems to have owned two of the paintings.

Lussier, the artist, moved about Illinois and lived in many places. He probably was in Peoria about 1865. In one small town, where he couldn't pay his board bill, he left one of the Douglas paintings, promising to redeem it. He never did, and the hotel keeper took it to Kansas, where eventually it became property of the Kansas Historical society.

Mr. Townley's interest in Douglas stemmed from the fact that Douglas' first public office, state's attorney, took him to Bloomington, which in 1834 was in the First circuit, a large area reaching from Calhoun and Pike to McLean. Douglas also had a law office in the old McLean court house, in partnership with George F. Markley.

The Dred Scott Decisions

DRED Scott can't sue for freedom! Dred Scott is property, not person! The Missouri Compromise is unconstitutional! Slavery cannot be kept out of the territories! These are the upshots of a complicated set of decisions delivered by the United States supreme court in March, 8577, challenged by Lincoln, defended by Douglas.

The case was known as Sanford vs. Scott. In 1836 Dr. John Emerson, an army surgeon, moved to Fort Snelling in the Wisconsin territory from St. Louis. With him went his slave Dred Scott. The next year Emerson and his slave returned to Missouri, Scott apparently making no protest. Six years later Dr. Emerson died and Scott became the property of his widow. In 1846 Dred Scott brought suit in a Missouri court to gain his freedom on the grounds that having been taken onto free soil he was thereby made a free man.

In similar cases, courts had ruled in favor of the plaintiff. Slavery was prohibited in territory north of 36-30 with the exception of Missouri, so the court ruled in favor of Scott. But the Missouri supreme court upset the decision, claiming Scott's voluntary return to a slave state cancelled his freedom and reinstated his slavery.

* * *

WHAT HAPPENED thereafter is still a matter of conjecture. Dr. Emerson's widow married Dr. Charles C. Chaffee, said to be a Know-Nothing and an abolitionist. They could simply have set Scott and his family free, but chose instead to carry the case to the supreme court. Some have argued it was a deliberate attempt to subvert the fugitive slave law. Others have held it was a bona fide effort to clear up an important legal point. Involved was a question of diversity of citizenship. Scott was a resident of Missouri, and his latest master, Mrs. Chaffee's brother, John F. A. Sanford, was a resident of New York.

Ostensibly, the issue was Dred Scott's freedom, while legally it was a question of residence—could a citizen of Missouri sue a citizen of New York in a Missouri court?

Sanford claimed in federal court that the court had no jurisdiction since Scott was not a citizen of Missouri as alleged, but an African slave. He was upheld and the case went to the highest tribunal.

The supreme court was to decide if it had jurisdiction to hear Scott's appeal. At issue was the citizenship of a Negro. To what extent the constitutionality of the Missouri Compromise was involved, interpreters differ. Northern investigators tend to conclude it had nothing to do with the case at all, while those on the South have held it material to the case.

There was some surprise, at any rate, when James Buchanan in his inaugural address predicted that a pending supreme court decision was going to clear up the vexing question posed by the Nebraska bill and 50 years of legislative and judical debate.

* * *

TWO DAYS after Buchanan spoke, Chief Justice Roger Brooke Taney dropped his judicial bomb.

The first question, said Taney, is "can a Negro, whose ancestors were imported into this country, and sold as slaves, become a member of the political community formed and brought into existence by the Constitution of the United States, and as such become entitled to all the rights and privileges and immunities guaranteed by that instrument to the citizen?"

To find the answer Taney turned to the Constitution and declared that when as it was framed Negroes were regarded "as beings of an inferior order and altogether unfit to associate with the white race, either in social or political relations, and so far inferior that they had no rights which the white man was bound to respect; and that the Negro might justly and lawfully be reduced to slavery for his benefit. He was bought and sold, and treated as an ordinary article of merchandise and traffic, whenever a profit could be made by it. This opinion was at that time fixed and universal in the civilized portion of the white race."

So the first blast was that Dred Scott could not have been, and was not a citizen of Missouri or any other state and so could not legally sue for his freedom or for anything else under the sun.

* * *

NOW, HOW ABOUT the free-territory argument? Didn't being on free soil, where slavery was prohibited, actually make Dred Scott a free man?

"No," said the judge and four of his colleagues. For one thing, no-citizen Scott is a piece of property which the Constitution aims to see his owner keep safe and sound. Just as congress cannot intervene arbitrarily between a man and his property in a state, so it cannot in a territory.

What does this do to the compromise line of 1820—to good old 36-30 which everyone for 34 years had regarded as the dividing line between slavery and freedom? It wiped it out completely, as an unconstitutional federal infringement of individual property rights.

But, it was protested, didn't the Constitution give congress power to make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territories or other property belonging to the United States? Yes, Taney replied, but the word "territory" referred only to the territory then held by the United States, not to territory subsequently obtained.

There were seven opinions altogether, and it took two days to deliver them all. Curtis' dissenting opinion was 50 pages long. For years students of the law argued about what the court really decided, pitting one part of the decision against another and endeavoring to discover on which points there was five-judge agreement.

The majority of the court seemed to agree that Dred Scott was a slave, not a citizen, and therefore the federal court had no jurisdiction in the case, and that the Missouri Compromise was unconstitutional.

* * *

ALMOST IMMEDIATELY Dred Scott and his family were emancipated by their owners. As far as the hard facts of his own living and dying were concerned, Scott was already as free as his neighbors and their representatives in congresses and courts were willing to let him be, and the freedom paper made as little real difference to him as the voluminous and learned decisions his humble person had caused the nine justices to compose. But to a nation already in turmoil the status of Dred Scott shocked, chilled, nerved and enflamed.

A year later, Sept. 7, 1858, Dred Scott died. The great debate, however, raged on, and impassioned men turned to the sword.

No. 1 Issue Of the Day Was Mud

LIKE all events, no matter how deep a mark they make on human affairs, the debates ended, the campaign ended, and winter set in. When the excitement of the big day was only something more to be talked about, there remained common things and vexing problems. It was in these, not in the volume or color of its debate-day pageantry, that the city revealed itself. In streets, for instance, and buildings and land.

In the midst of its own industrial revolution, Quincy had not advanced beyond muddy roads and muddy feet, but it was on the way. In 1858 the frontier had moved west, but not the rains.

That November the Whig editor wrote: "For a week now we have had nothing but a succession of rainy days. It is dirty above and below—clouds and mist over head, and mud and water under foot. Many of the roads are impassable to loaded wagons, and but few farmers have come into town lately. Business is consequently dull."

A few days later be wrote: "We have never seen our streets in a worse condition than at present. The mud, in some places, is knee deep to horses; and the way those walking the streets are bespattered by the vehicles is anything but comfortable."

For years the best way from the bluff to the river was a sort of path cutting diagonally from Third and Hampshire to Front and Vermont. By 1857 seven streets were passably graded from the top of the bluff to the river — Broadway, Vermont, Hampshire, Maine, State, Delaware and Jersey.

* * *

RIDGES AND GULLIES crisscrossed the city when the commissioners laid it out in 1825, and streets followed the rise and fall of them. Grades for several streets were established in 1839, the year the first street in the city was macadamized at a cost of \$3.62½ per running foot, with an additional \$1 per foot for curbing. That forerunner of the modern highway was a strip 25 feet wide down the center of Hampshire from Third to Front.

Once they got started rolling out sidewalks it was hard to stop. No less than 33 miles of them were found to have been laid by 1847—more, John Tillson wrote, than the city really needed. Most of the walks were 12 feet wide, some were 16 feet wide. Downtown walks were built of huge stone slabs, and crosswalks at street intersections were paths of stepping-stones laid in the "pavement."

Open ravines and stone-lined gutters were the city's sewer system, while water was drawn from wells or stored in cisterns.

House numbering, a complete muddle by 1857, was thrown into utter confusion by the city council's first effort to straighten it out. Houses and buildings had generally been numbered from Front street, or Water street as it was early called, with no system, and no attention paid to blocks.

By council action in 1857, east and west numbering was to begin at Front with a number advance every 25 feet. North and south numbering was to follow two separate systems, one using Broadway as base and the other using State. When this intended untangling produced chaos instead, part of it was modified; the dual north-south base was abandoned and Maine street established as the starting point. A street address, unless accompanied by the number of doors from some point of reference, an intersection or a prominent building, was next to worthless.

The Dick brothers paid \$15,000 in 1857 for property at Ninth and York, intending to build a brewery. And the Quincy and Toledo railroad to be built between Camp Point and Meredosia reached Mt. Sterling, occasioning a celebration. The assessed valuation of city property that year was a respectable \$3,020,895.

* * *

A BUSINESS directory published in the Herald in August, 1858, listed three importers of liquors and cigars, nine law firms, three physicians, three banking houses, three druggists, two hardware dealers, three jewelers, four groceries—retail and wholesale, one produce firm, three forwarding and commission merchants, three dry goods merchants, five tailors' and clothing stores, two book stores, four boot and shoe stores, two carriage manufacturers, one livery stable, two music stores, three dentists, two stove manufacturers two book binderies, three insurance agents, four hotels (the St. Charles on the north side of Hampshire on the square; Adams House on Hampshire between Sixth and Seventh; the Broadway hotel at Front and Broadway, and the Quincy House at the southwest corner of the square), three lumber dealers, two hat and cap manufacturers, four saddlers and harness makers, one coppersmith, two daguerreotypists, two marble yards, one engraver and one dealer in iron. Several merchants and artisans were not listed.

Unlisted in the Herald directory were hoop skirt manufacturers, makers of coffee and spice mills, carpet bag makers, foundries, a tannery, a woolen mill. They too were here.

Monday, Nov. 3, 1858, the Whig editor noted progress in new building during the year then waning, and said it was considerable, "not withstanding the 'hard times' and scarcity." Buildings had been constructed all over the city. Among the finest, he said, was one built on the southeast corner of Fifth and Maine by Messrs. Flachs & Merssman.

The corner room was to be occupied by Flachs & Co. banking house. A store room was also on the first floor, and on the second floor were several apartments to be rented as offices. On the third floor was a hall, said to be the largest in the city, measuring 48½ feet in length, 94 feet in width, and 24 feet floor-to-ceiling. It would seat, with galleries on three sides, between 1,400 and 1,500 people, the Whig estimated. A "supper room" and a dressing room were attached to the hall, "in the third and fourth stories."

"The architecture of the building is in the Norman style," the Whig reported, "and is creditable to the taste and mechanical skill of the architect and builders. It is an ornament to the city, and worthy to face the fine block of Messr. Flagg & Savage."

* * *

THE CITY was expanding. Town limits in 1834 were Jefferson to the south, Vine to the north and Twelfth on the east. The city then covered 800 acres inhabited by 700 people. Unchanged when the town became a city in 1840, boundaries were extended to Eighteenth from Broadway to Jersey in 1847, adding 120 acres. In 1857 the northern limit was pushed out to Locust, the southern boundary to Harrison, and the eastern boundary to Twenty-fourth. Most of the addition, which brought the city to 2,500-acre size, was wooded land or corn fields.

In 1847 there were just nine buildings between Twelfth and Twenty-fourth, while east of Twenty-fourth, in what was known as East Quincy or the Institute, there were about a dozen.

The number of wards jumped from three to six, with 12 aldermen on the council instead of four. The mayor, city marshal and aldermen were elected by the people but other city officials were elected by the council or appointed by the mayor.

A New York Tribune correspondent visited Quincy in July, 1858, and wrote that he found the city "one of the most desirable localities for residence or business with which I am acquainted in the West."

"The public square," he wrote, "is a gem, but it ought to have been much larger. In the city limits lie a tract of 160 acres of the best building lots in the city. As a matter of curiosity I was told that this property is assessed at \$500 an acre and . . . it is said to be worth at least \$1,000 an acre, and a large portion of it double that sum, which is a comfortable increase on the original government price of 25 years ago."

A steady stream of immigrants swelled the city's population. Steamboatloads of people from Germany were arriving in the 1850s. There had been a wave of Irish immigration in 1839-40, and an influx of Germans in the 1830s.

In a dozen ways things were changing and growing, but still there was the mud, ankle deep after a rain, splattering everything in sight, reducing pretty ladies to tears and well-bred gentlemen to oaths. And on a dismal autumn day, a Quincy editor was sure that the problem of problems was not the Nebraska bill, slavery in or out of the territories, the Dred Scott decision, but mud, mud, mud!

Debates Called Demagoguery

Not everyone thought, in 1858, that the debates were worthy of the office or the issues.

After the fourth debate the Cincinnati Commercial declared: "Few debates less dignified in their external manifestations or containing so little that was worthy to be remembered have fallen under out observation. It is difficult to conceive of anything more illegitimate than a public canvass before the people by gentlemen seeking as rival candidates an office that is not in the popular gift."

In Norfolk, Va., an editor wrote: "The whole country is disgusted with the scene now exhibited in the state of Illinois."

Lincoln and Douglas were "a pair of depraved, blustering, mischievous, lowdown demagogues," the Washington Union decided.

DOUGLAS ENSHRINED — The "Little Giant's" statue in front of the Illinois capitol in Springfield was dedicated the same day as Lincoln's. It is the work of Gilbert P. Riswold, a pupil of Lorado Taft, who executed the debate plaque in Quincy. This shows Douglas at the peak of his career.

People Were Funny Then Too; It Showed in the Newspapers

PEOPLE were funny long before Art Linkletter noticed it. The funniness, then as now, was sometimes laughable, sometimes quaint, sometimes ridiculous, sometimes dangerous, occasionally bewildering, and now and then not funny at all.

The family wash was usually boiled, 100 years ago, but not always in the fashion reported in the Quincy Whig Aug. 20, 1858.

"A lady recently told her 'help' newly arrived to boil the clothes preparatory to washing. Several hours after she found that the tea kettle had been filled, and was doing good service, but slowly, on account of its limited capacity."

At least one man was unimpressed with the devotion of church members, in the teeth of recurring revivals which swept the country.

"Talking the one with the other," said the Rev. Sidney Smith, "I believe my congregation to be most exemplary observers of the religious ordinances, for the poor keep all the fasts and the rich all the feasts."

Perhaps people were less adverse to hearing truth straight from the shoulder, and General Cass' daughter didn't blanch when she read in the Whig:

"The daughter of Gen. Cass, whose marriage was announced a few days since, is no chicken. She is forty years old, and in her wedding costume did not attempt to imitate girls young enough to be her daughters. She wore a silk dress of the color of the ashes of rose, and a mazarine blue bonnet."

Citizens were not reluctant to take the law into their own hands. At Barry that September one Reuben Lock was lynched while awaiting trial for horse theft. And when fire destroyed the Quincy Omnibus company stables a citizen knocked down with a spanner a fellow who cut a fire hose, and another citizen chased down a looter, "punished him severely and made him carry his plunder back," the Whig reported.

There was the case of Jim Smacks, who, said the Whig, "puts everything to use. His wife has a wooden head, and he strops his razor on it—the scamp!"

That year the republic celebrated the 82nd anniversary of its independence, and church bells hereang half an hour at sunrise, during the procession held that morning, at noon, and again at sunset. Music was offered in Washington square and on the bluff between Maine and York. An oration was delivered by C. A. Warren, Esq., and P. A. Goodwin read the Declaration of Independence in English and F. Flack read it in German.

There was a monkey circus and a "Burlesque Dramatic Troupe—Messrs. Spalding & Rogers—Sig. Donetti's great comic company of acting monkeys, dogs and goats—laughable pantomimes, comic interludes, tight and slack rope, grand military spectacles, etc.—Beautiful Young Ladies." All presented in the elegant saloon on board the Steamer James Raymond. The same night Birch's Minstrels would entertain the populace, offering "popular national melodies, operatic parodies, duets, refrains, choruses, instrumental music, favorite ballads, northern and southern eccentricities, burlesques, dances, jigs, breakdowns, and all the various humors, indescribables and conceits incident to this kind of amusement."

Dogs were dogs—what else? The city marshal appointed his deputies to enforce the dog law, that big political year, and the Whig warned that "all persons owning dogs in the city had better keep an eye to them. The dog-killer will make sausage meat of every one of them—that is, the dogs not their owners — found running at large."

Wages were not high but an unnamed person had a time finding "a girl to do the cooking, washing and ironing of a small family, to go to Louisiana, Mo.; wages, $12.50 per month." The ad ran for weeks.

Brass-knuckled in political debate, the press was also platitudinous. Sandwiched between political salves the reader would find such sage observations as this: "A cat, if she be friendly, never approaches thee by a direct course. No more does the truth, oh friend, but winding around thy stupidities, and rubbing up against thy prejudices, it reaches thee gently, and then, perhaps, scratches".

Perhaps every age is the "age of the poof-off." "Young man," the Herald editor admonished between political punches, "pay attention.—Don't loaf, don't call yourself a loafer, don't keep loafer's company, don't hang about loafing places. Better work hard for everything and board yourself than sit around day after day or stand at corners with your hands in your pockets. Better for your own prospects—Bustle about, if you mean to have anything to bustle about for."

Alongside a libelous attack on a political opponent might appear a defense of the Bible as "the book for all," as did indeed occur in the Herald of Aug. 6, 1858.

Who was civilizing whom? According to an item in the Whig, 8 Aug. 20, 1858, a white man named Hairelton who lived on the Willow river in Wisconsin, treated his sister and wife shamefully and brutally. The sister was "partially insane," the paper said. Chippewa Indians caused near-by witnessed the brutality. One night a group of them went to the Hamilton cabin, unwinded Hairelton, and "treated him to a ride on a rail, after which they divested him of his hair and whiskers."

Douglas Declined Slave Fortune

THE first wife of Stephen A. Douglas was a slaveholder, and he could have been, but declined.

Although Douglas argued mightily, and sometimes with obvious intent to obscure, that slavery was defensible and not to be disturbed or retarded except by local option, he was at other times quoted as opposed to slavery.

The day after his wedding to Martha Denny Martin of North Carolina, his father-in-law handed him a package of papers, telling him it was a wedding gift. The papers would have given Douglas absolute deed to the Pearl River plantation and all its slaves and equipment, owned by Martin, easily worth $100,000, it was said. Douglas thanked the Colonel, explained that he was not an abolitionist, but was a northerner by birth, education and residence, was totally ignorant of that species of property and therefore could not accept the gift. The next year the Colonel died and the plantation was left to Mrs. Douglas, with the provision that she eventually have the slaves sent to Liberia if she was childless. Douglas was left a small cash bequest and a fifth of the net annual income of the property as a management fee.

In the heat of debate on the Nebraska bill, authored and pushed to passage by Douglas, he is said to have made this somewhat starting remark to a young friend, George Murray McConnel: "I am not pro-slavery. I think it is a curse beyond computation, to both white and black. But we exist as a nation by virtue only of the Constitution, and under that there is no way to abolish it. I believe that the only power that can destroy slavery is the sword, and if the sword is once drawn, no one can see the end."

Douglas explained the Nebraska bill as a step toward freedom because slavery could "no longer crouch behind a line which freedom could not cross."

"I am not willing to violate the Constitution to put an end to slavery," he said, "for to violate it for one purpose will lead to violating it for other purposes. To do evil that good may come' is false morality and worse policy, and I regard the integrity of the political union as worth more to humanity than the whole black race. Sometime, without a doubt, slavery will be destroyed."

The vision which filled his mind was not the end of slavery and the restoration of human dignity to an oppressed people, but a vast, undivided ocean-bound nation, with the Mississippi valley at its heart.

In the 30th congress Douglas declared: "There is a power in this nation greater than either the North or the South . . . A growing, increasing, swelling power, that will be able to speak the law to this nation, and to execute the law as spoken. That power is the country known as the great West—the valley of the Mississippi, one and indivisible from the gulf to the Great Lakes, and stretching, on the one side and the other, to the extreme sources of the Ohio and Missouri—from the Alleghanies to the Rocky mountains. There, sir, is the hope of this nation—the resting place of the power that is not only to control, but to save, the Union. We furnish the water that makes the Mississippi, and we intend to follow, navigate, and use it until it loses itself in the briny ocean. So with the St. Lawrence. We intend to keep open and enjoy both of these great outlets to the ocean, and all between them we intend to take under our especial protection, and keep and preserve as one free, happy, and united people. This is the mission of the great Mississippi valley, the heart and soul of the nation and the continent.

Thomas Jefferson: "The way, I hope, is preparing, under the auspices of heaven, for a total emancipation of slavery."

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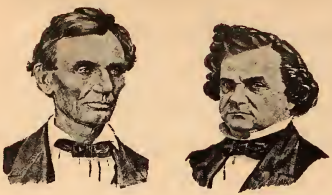
LINCOLN-DOUGLAS CENTENNIAL EDITION——PAGE 27



At the time of the Lincoln - Douglas Debate, the founder of Quincy-Peoples, Ben Vasen was a bookkeeper in the insurance and real estate office of Morton and Nichols at 510 Maine.

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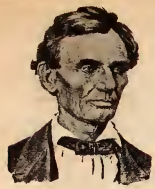

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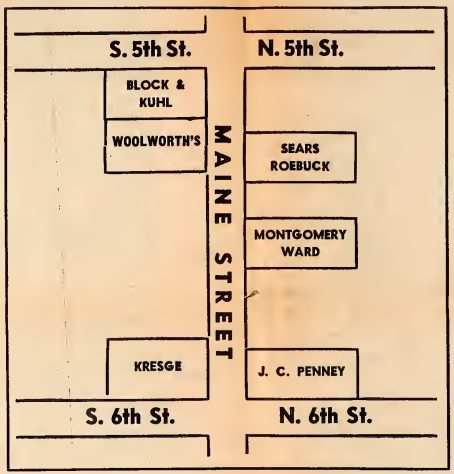

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The Herald-Whig, Quincy, Ill. Feb. 11, 1968

Quincy's Lincoln-Douglas debate

Men and women who had heard Lincoln-Douglas debate in Quincy fifty years earlier, grouped around the boulder in Washington park, Oct. 13, 1908, on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the historic affair. Many of those shown in the picture were but youngsters at the time, and like Will Sohm and Henry Bornmann, sat in trees nearby, little knowing the importance of what they were hearing. The location of the boulder in this picture was thought to be wrong and was later moved to the site occupied today by the Lorado Taft plaque.

By CARL LANDRUM

PROBABLY no other event will ever be recorded in the history of the city of Quincy to match that of October, 13, 1858, when Abraham Lincoln and Stephen A. Douglas spoke in Washington park. Its complete significance will probably never be known, and yet we know it marked a turning point in the history of this city.

Of the seven debates held that fall who is to say which was the most historic or important? Five had been held and only one remained after Quincy. Whether the suggestions made by Quincy attorney Henry Asbury were used by Lincoln or not, and whether one orator defeated the other that day in a battle of words matters not today. The fact is that it happened and it happened in Quincy and should be remembered and recalled from time to time so that all may

Granite boulder from Mill creek, dedicated in 1908 and used to mark the site of the Lincoln Douglas debate until bronze plaque was erected in 1935. It now rests near plaque with incised legend "Lincoln-Douglas debate, Oct. 13, 1858."

Carl Schurz

The Varied, Good-Humored Crowds.

The next morning the country people began to stream in for the great meeting, some singly on foot or on horseback, or small parties in buggies or farm wagons; others marshalled in solemn procession from the outlying towns or districts, with drums and banners, many of them headed by musicians in white with triceloured sashes, who represented the Goddess of Liberty and the thirteen states, and whose beauty was admired by every one, themselves included. There was no end of cheering and shouting and jeering; but in spite of the excitement created by the political contest, the crowd remained very good-natured, and occasional gibes flung from one side to the other were uniformly received with a mere laugh.

The great debate took place in the afternoon on an open square, where a large plan-board platform had been erected for the committee of arrangements, the speakers and the friends they wished to have with them. I was favoured with a seat on that platform.

In front of it many thousands of people were assembled, Republicans and Democrats standing peaceably together, only chatting one another occasionally in a good-tempered way. As the champions arrived, they were demonstratively cheered by their respective adherents.

The presiding officer agreed upon called the meeting to order, and announced the order of proceedings. Mr. Lincoln was to open with a speech of one hour. Senator Douglas was to follow with a speech of one hour and a half, and Mr. Lincoln was to close with a speech of half an hour.

The first part of Lincoln's opening speech was devoted to a refutation of some things Senator Douglas had said at previous meetings. This refutation may indeed have been required for the settlement of disputed points, but it did not strike me as anything extraordinary, either in form or in substance. Neither had Mr. Lincoln any of those natural advantages which are thought to be very desirable to the orator. His voice was not musical,—high-keyed and apt to rise to a shrill treble in moments of excitement,—but not disagreeable, and exceedingly penetrating. I could notice that every word he spoke was understood at the remotest edges of the vast assemblage. His gesture was awkward. He swung his long arms sometimes in a very ungraceful manner. He would, to give particular force to a point, bend his knees and body within a sudden downward motion, settle he appeared for a moment quite small, and then stand up again with a vehemence that raised him to his tiptoes and made him look even taller than he was—a manner of emphasizing a speech which at first hour was, and perhaps still is, not unusual in the West, but which he dropped at a later period.

There was, however, in all he said a tone of earnest truthfulness, of kindly sympathy, and of elevated sentiment which, mostly adding to the strength of his argument, made one soon forget the awkwardness of his action, and which, as in the progress of his speech he touched the moral side of the slavery question, became powerfully impressive. Even where attacking his opponent with keen satire or invective, which, coming from any other speaker, would have sounded bitter and merciless, there was still something in his utterance which made his hearers feel that these words came from a relenting heart, and that he would much rather have trusted his foe as a friend.

His enunciation was very distinct, and he possessed great natural ability, and had the advantage of long and varied political training. His strongly combative temperament, the quickness of his mind, and a certain unscrupulous daring had aided him in becoming the most formidable parliamentary adversary in Congress. No debater was more skilful in assertion, more skilful in twisting logic, more adroit in meeting attack by similar session or rapid counter-attack, more fertile in demonstration. He was sportive to the point of vulgarity in his intercourse with his friends, of whom his political career had furnished him a very promiscuous assortment. But in his discussions with his opponents he liked to spice his almost always compact and lucid, however artful, reasoning and his vehement appeals with a tone of overbearing superiority and of insulting, proud action, as if he would say: "How dare you stand up against me?"

Douglas's Aggressive Debating.

In this style he answered Lincoln's opening speech. His voice, naturally a strong baritone, grew forth a hoarse and rough, at times even something like a bellowing sound. His tone was angry, dictatorial and defiant. In one of his first sentences he charged Lincoln with "base insinuations," and then he went on with a dark frown upon his brow, tossing his mane and clenching his fist. Even inoffensive things he could sometimes bring out in a manner which looked as if intended to be offensive, and which now and then called forth bursts of applause from his friends, expressions of remonstrance from the opposition. But his arguments were well put together, his points strongly made, his argumentation clear and plausible, and his invective vigorous and exceedingly trying to the temper of the resolute party. On the whole, his friends were well pleased with his performance, and rewarded him with hearty applause.

But then came Lincoln's closing of one half-hour, in which he replied to Douglas's arguments and attacks with rapier thrusts so skilful and piercing, with humorous retorts so quaint and felicitous, and with witty illustrations so fit to serve as clinching arguments, that the meeting frequently broke out in demonstrations of delight by which even many of his opponents were carried away, while the sneer on Douglas's face grew darker and darker. Those who now read the printed report of that speech, so full of pointed allusions to persons then in the public eye and to the happenings of the day, will hardly appreciate the effect the delivery produced on the spot. But that has been the fate of many famous oratorical efforts to which cold print could never do justice.

Abraham Lincoln had, at that period indeed, not yet risen to that wonderful elevation of sentiment and that grand beauty of diction which the whole world admires in his dedicating speech and in his second inaugural address. But there was in his debates with Douglas, which, as to their form at least, were largely extemporaneous, an occasional flash of the same lofty moral inspiration, and all he said came out with the sympathetic persuasiveness of an honest nature which made the listener feel as if the speaker looked him straight in the eye and took him by the hand, saying: "My friend, what I tell you is my earnest conviction, and I have no doubt you think so yourself."

Lincoln and Douglas Contrasted.

The impression made by the debate upon an entirely impartial observer, and his judgment of the two champions, would probably have been this: Douglas is certainly a man of extraordinary capacity, of great reasoning power, and of forensic eloquence. But he avoids moral points of view, and it is advisable to look very carefully at his statements and his logic before accepting what he wishes you to believe. Lincoln possesses no less large mental grasp and no less keen reasoning faculty. But he is of the same type inspired by a lofty moral impulse, and what he offers to you in his honest conviction you may with perfect assurance take to be sound. In short, you may trust him.

When the debate at Quincy was over, the champions were heartily cheered by their partisans, the assemblage dispersed peacefully, the trains began to pip again, several of them within hearing of one another so as to fill the air with discordant sounds, and the country people, with their banners and their music in wheels, got in motion to return to their homes, each party, no doubt, persuaded that the result of the day was in its favour. I took my leave of Mr. Lincoln, and I was not to meet him again until about twenty months later, as a member of a committee of the memorable Chicago Convention of 1860, which carried to him at his home in Springfield the official announcement of his nomination as the Republican candidate for the presidency. In the campaign which followed, he and Douglas were again opposed candidates, and it so happened that on March 4, 1861, when Abraham Lincoln delivered his first inaugural address from the steps of the Capitol in Washington, Senator Douglas stood near him and held his hat during the ceremony. Douglas died three months later, after having pledged his patriotic support, and that of the Northern Democracy, to President Lincoln in defence of the Union.

ONE of the most interesting and important political campaigns I ever witnessed was that of 1858 in the State of Illinois. Senator Douglas's term was about to expire, and he was a candidate for reelection to the Senate. The Republicans of Illinois nominated for the same office, as their candidate, Abraham Lincoln.

The Republican State Committee of Illinois had invited me to make some speeches in that memorable campaign, and given me an appointment at Quincy at the time when one of the greatest debates between the champions was to take place there. On the evening before that debate, I was on a railroad train bound for that town. The car in which I travelled was full of men who discussed the absorbing questions of the day with great animation. A member of the Republican State Committee accompanied me and sat by my side.

All at once, just after the train had left a country station, I observed a great commotion among my fellow-travellers, many of whom had jumped up from their seats and pressed around a tall man who had just entered the car. They addressed him in the most familiar style: "Hello, Abe! How are you?" and so on. And he responded in the same manner: "Good evening, Ben! How are you, Joe? Glad to see you, Dick!" and there was much laughter at some things he said, which, in the confusion of voices, I could not understand. It was like a meeting of old village neighbors.

"Why," said my companion, the committee-man, "there's Lincoln himself!" He broke through the crowd and introduced me to Abraham Lincoln, whom I then saw for the first time.

I must confess that I was somewhat startled by his appearance. There he stood, overtopping by several inches all those surrounding him. Although measuring a little over six feet myself, I had, standing quite near to him, to throw my head backward in order to look into his face. That face, with its strong features, its deep furrows, and its benignant, melancholy eyes is now familiar to every soul in this republic by numberless pictures. It may be said that the whole civilized world knows and loves it. At that time it was clean shaven, and looked even more haggard and care-worn than later, when it was framed in whiskers.

Lincoln's Uncouth Appearance.

On his head he wore a somewhat battered "stovepipe" hat. His lank, ungainly body was clad in a rusty black dress-coat with sleeves that should have been longer; but his arms appeared so long that the sleeves of a "store" coat could hardly have been expected to cover them all the way down to the wrists. His black trousers, too, permitted a very full view of his large feet. On his left arm he carried a gray woollen shawl, which evidently served him for an overcoat in chilly weather. His left hand held a cotton umbrella of the bulging kind, and also a satchel that bore the marks of long service. His right he had kept free for handshaking, of which there was no end until everybody in the car seemed to be satisfied.

He received me very cordially, like an old acquaintance, having been informed of what I was doing in the campaign, and we sat down together. In a somewhat high-pitched but pleasant voice he began to talk to me, telling me much about the points he and Douglas had made in the debates at different places, and about those he was going to make at Quincy on the morrow.

When, in a tone of perfect ingenuousness, he asked me—a young beginner at that time—what I thought about this and that, I should have considered myself very much honored by his confidence, had he permitted me to regard him as a great man. But he talked in so simple and familiar a strain, and his manner and homely phrase were so entirely free from any semblance of self-consciousness or pretension of superiority, that I soon felt as if I had known him all my life, and as if we had very long been close friends. He interspersed our conversation with all sorts of quaint stories, each of which had a witty point applicable to the subject in hand. He seemed to enjoy his own jests in a childlike way, for his usually sad-looking eyes would kindle with a merry twinkle, and he himself sometimes led in the laughter: and his laughter was so genuine, hearty and contagious that nobody could fail to join in it.

When we arrived at Quincy, we found a large number of friends waiting for him, and there was much handshaking and many familiar salutations again. Then they got him into a carriage, much against his wish, for he said that he would prefer to "foot it to Browning's," an old friend's house where he was to have a quiet night. But the night was by no means quiet outside. The crash of brass bands and shouts of enthusiastic Democrats or Republicans, cheering and hurrahing for their respective champions, did not cease until the small hours.

THE LINCOLN-DOUGLAS DEBATE.

Old Newspaper Man Who Reported It Gives His Impressions.

[The Editor and Publisher]

Major Frank M. Daulton, editor of the Greene County Newsboy of Marmaduke, Ark., reported in 1858 the Lincoln-Douglas debates for the Quincy (Ill.) Herald, and became a warm friend of both eminent statesmen. The major tells some good stories of the debates. His only regret is that he didn't save his notes.

"I had known Douglas for some time before my assignment to accompany the debaters," said Major Daulton a few days ago, "but I had never met Lincoln. The campaign was opened in Springfield in the summer of '58. The day before I was introduced to Lincoln, and I guess, like most people, I failed to detect the diamond in the rough. Knowing something of Douglas's oratorical power, I expressed my sympathy at his not having an opponent more worthy of his effort.

"'Wait till you hear him,' he said grimly, 'and maybe I'll be the fellow your compassion is coming to.'

"That was a campaign the like of which I've never seen, and I've been on earth since 1832. One of the rivals would speak in the forenoon, and the crowds stayed with 'em. It required no effort to listen to Douglas for three hours. It was a treat. And Lincoln, though less of an orator, said things in a sledgehammer way that kept you thinking so hard you forgot the flight of time. The crowds were enormous.

"Lincoln and Douglas journeyed over the state in railroad cars, hacks and farm wagons like two loving comrades, as indeed they were. I never heard a harsh word exchanged between them. Once Lincoln began his address by saying:

"'Fellow citizens, we have met today to take part in the stoning of Stephen!'

"They never discussed politics except on the platform. Both were splendid story tellers and thoroughly enjoyed the social features incident to their campaign. Although I was sent out as a partisan of Douglas, in time I became such an admirer of Lincoln that now and then some unconscious tribute to his skill would creep into my reports, though they rarely passed the censor at the desk.

"It was a homespun campaign. The log cabin and the hickory shirt were the heraldic devices. The speakers as likely as not appeared in their shirtsleeves, minus necktie and collar, if the day was hot. If they had elaborated their attire the people wouldn't have stood for it. It was an age of reason, and the world wanted to know what the giants had to say, not how they looked.

"The contrast between the two men was almost ridiculous. Lincoln had the biggest ears I ever saw attached to a man, and he got around about as gracefully as a woman climbs a rail fence. Douglas wasn't five pounds on the other side of a hundred, but he had a head to match Lincoln's ears.

"The association between the two men was so good natured and the temper of the crowds during the contest so friendly that if anybody had suggested that the events presaged war I would have regarded him as a fanatical alarmist.

"In many places where the orators spoke I was the only reporter present, and I didn't work over hard to get down the proceedings. Suppose they were back on earth to-day, debating with the fierce ardor they did then—why, you couldn't get enough tables for the reporters to work on, and of the making of books there would be no end."